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SOUTH VIET NAM
In Struggle

Nº 83
Special issue

C/O
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19, *Hai Ba Trung, Hanoi, DRVN*
and all SVNR Embassies
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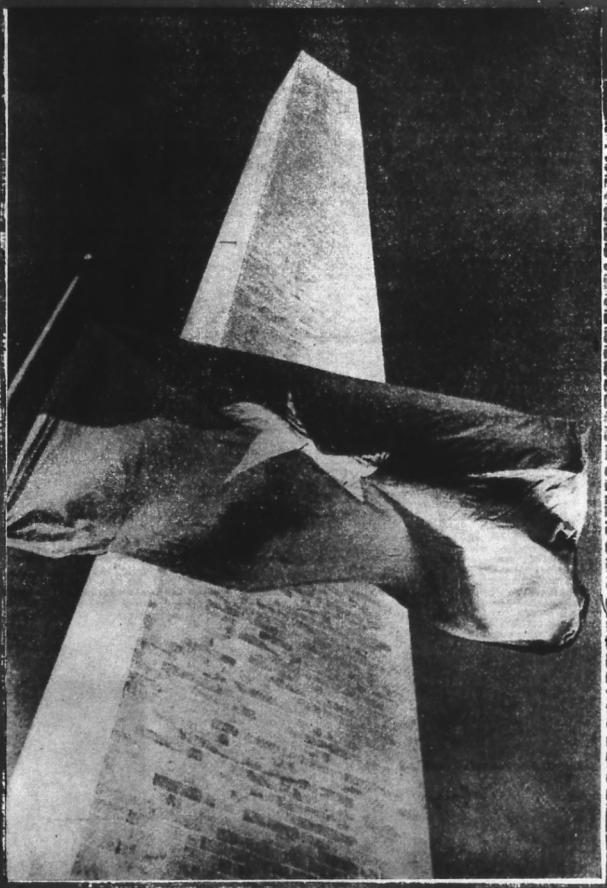

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WARM GREETINGS TO THE 10th FOUNDING ANNIVERSARY
OF THE SVN NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION

NATIONAL UNITY

source of strength and key to success

THE South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is 10 years old. 10 years! Our Front is very young indeed, but youth is also the age of wonderful feats. Our enemy, the US aggressors, a powerful imperialism with an economic and military potential unequalled by any other imperialistic country, constantly seek to wipe out our people's patriotic forces rallied under the Front's glorious banner of patriotism. They have mustered more than half a million GIs and satellite troops and almost one million puppet soldiers, used tens of millions of tons of bombs and shells and tens of thousands of tons of toxic chemicals in a special, then a limited, war against our people over the last ten years. But they have always been the loser whereas our SVN NFL has been continually growing with every passing year into an invincible force. It has been a victor and will remain a victor to the end.

Friends over the five continents have rejoiced over the uninterrupted progress of the SVN NFL and the big, all-sided, unprecedented successes of our people and armed forces while our enemy, both stupid and blind, are angry and powerless in face of the growing strength and achievements of the SVN NFL.

Naturally, the strength of our people and armed forces is not an inborn one, and their successes are not a matter of good luck. Then, what is the source of their strength and the key to their successes? Our people's strength is an aggregate one, and their successes are the resultant of many constituent factors, but the deep-rooted origin of our people's invincible force and the fundamental factor of their multifarous successes in the war of resistance lie in the unity of the nation.

We have not a big population, nor do we have an extensive area. We have been victim of continual invasions and our people, from generation to generation, have had to fight against aggression. In all conditions, the strength of the whole nation, the strength of national unity is needed to secure victory over the aggressor. From the Diên Hồng Assembly to the Tan Trao People's Congress, our nation's tradition of unity in face of foreign aggressions has been transmitted and promoted to the fullest. The Bach Đang and the Dien Bien Phu victories, although belonging to two different periods of history, had a common denominator: the strength of national unity.

In South Viet Nam at present, unity is being enlarged and all patriotic forces are rallied into a national united front: this lesson is yielding good results and bears a deep meaning. The emergence of the SVN NFL with the mission to unite the whole South Vietnamese people in an anti-US resistance for national salvation is an historical fact of great significance.

We know that in face of a dangerous enemy of the nation such as the US imperialists, the formation of a Front with a view to rallying all forces to oppose it is a question of strategy, a decisive factor for the revolution. No social section, left to itself, can lead the revolution to success. The history of our nation, just as that of other nations in the world, has shown that any class which wants to fulfil its national liberation mission, has to secure numerous allies. The South Vietnamese people have been highly successful in their policy of national unity. The anti-US aggression united front of which the SVN NFL is the core, is the embodiment of a wide national front, hence its matchless strength.

The SVN NFL has been able to bring together all forces that can be brought together and to win over all forces that can be won over. By means of diversified organizational forms which appropriately awaken national consciousness, it has offered all patriotic social segment and class and every patriotic individual, a suitable place and enable them to discharge their national salvation duty in accordance with their own capabilities.

The NFL is a bloc of alliance of various classes that have as common objective the interests of the nation, while differing from each other by their personal interests. The NFL has never swerved from the interest of the nation, while paying due consideration to the particular interests of each class. Hence the steady consolidation and enlargement of the bloc of unity within it. Hence, additional conditions have been created for the revolution to further isolate the enemy and to gather strength and carry the day.

Highly valuing the strength of national unity and deeply imbued with President Hồ Chí Minh's teachings, the NFL has stressed in its Political Programme: "The strength vouching for the success of our resistance for national liberation and for national salvation lies in the unity of all national forces, regardless of political tendencies..., provided that they stand against the US imperialists and their lackeys in order to wrest back national rights and build the country. Any force which for some reason does not want to adhere to the Front will be invited by the Front to coordinate actions with it against the common enemy — the US aggressors and their agents."

The line of broad unity advocated by the NFL finds its expression in all and everyone of its concrete policies. That is why, while laying down policies guaranteeing the legitimate rights of workers, peasants, intellectuals, soldiers, the NFL also attaches due importance to the interests of the other classes. As a result of all that, its strength has always been on the upgrade. Under its glorious banner of patriotism, the NFL has assembled not only various popular strata — peasants, workers, intellectuals, students — but also religious groupings — Buddhists, Catholics, Protestants, Cao Dai and Hoa Hao sects followers, political bodies such as the People's Revolutionary Party, the Radical Socialist Party, the South Viet Nam Democratic Party, and other social forces among them, the organizations of patriotic-minded mutineers from the puppet army, and dissident soldiers and officers. Soon after the concerted attacks and uprisings at the beginning of 1968, the anti-US national united front was further enlarged by the emergence of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peace Forces. On the other hand, faithful to its broad unity programme, the NFL has concerted actions with a number of political groupings in Saigon and Hue in drives against the Thieu-Ky-Khiem junta.

The national unity policy of the NFL was further expanded in its militant action for a broad national and democratic coalition government. Its Political Programme has made it unequivocally clear that its objective is "To realize a broad and progressive democratic regime (remove the camouflaged colonial rule of the US imperialists), overthrow the puppet administration, not to recognize the puppet National Assembly, cancel the Constitution and all anti-national and undemocratic laws and regulations of the US and puppets...

In implementation of the national unity policy of the NFL, the Provisional Revolutionary Government in its 12-point Programme of Action: "In a broad spirit of national concord in the supreme interests of the country and nation, the Provisional Revolutionary Government is prepared to enter into consultations with political forces representing various social sections and political tendencies in South Viet Nam that favour for peace, independence and neutrality — including those who, for political reasons, have had to take up residence abroad — with a view to setting up a provisional coalition government on the principles of equality, democracy and mutual respect. This provisional coalition government will organize general elections for a Constituent Assembly, work out a democratic Constitution taking into full consideration the interests and aspirations of the entire people and form a coalition government symbolizing national concord and the broad unity of all social segments." To ensure unity, the 12-point programme of action of the PRG proposed in the part concerning the tasks of their government: "To prohibit all acts of repression, reprisal and discrimination against people having collaborated with either side, whether living inside or outside the country, in accordance with the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam."

In the same broad spirit of national concord, the 10-point overall solution of the SVN NFL and the SVNR PRG highlighted the setting up of a provisional coalition government to administer the country during the period of US troops withdrawal and to organize free elections for a Constituent Assembly, approve a constitution and eventually form a full-fledged government.

The Provisional coalition government is indeed a small-size image of the bloc of national unity. All social segments, all political and religious tendencies, all nationalities have their worthy representatives in it. This is a clear indication that all policies and acts of the NFL are prompted by the principle of national unity — and so are not only those in connection with the anti-US resistance, but also those related to national construction. This explains why the NFL Political Programme — one of national unity — has elicited such a wide and deep response from all social strata and rallied them in the present task of anti-US resistance for national salvation.

Unity makes strength and is the key to success. The results of the South Vietnamese people and NFL anti-US, national unity programme have amply substantiated this. More than ever before these words of President Hồ Chí Minh:

"Unity, unity, greater unity. Success, success, greater success."

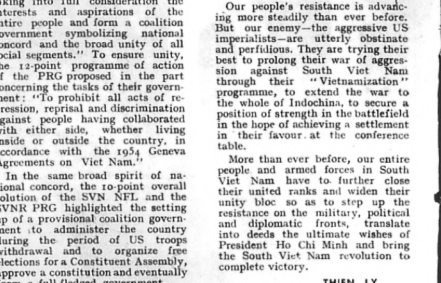
are being translated into reality of great historical purport in South Viet Nam, and instilling an invincible strength into the South Vietnamese people, enabling them to defeat the enemy.

Our South Vietnamese people and fellow-countrymen all over the country and their friends throughout the world are celebrating the 10th founding anniversary of the NFL. Recollecting the lesson of unity, this primordial factor of success, we feel all the more indebted to President Hồ Chí Minh who embodied it and never ceased to work for the bloc of national unity, and we are all the more permeated with an unshakable confidence and firm resolve to fight on.

Our people's resistance is advancing more steadily than ever before. But our enemy — the aggressive US imperialists — are utterly obstinate and perfidious. They are trying their best to prolong their war of aggression against South Viet Nam through their "Vietnamization" programme, to extend the war to the whole of Indochina, to secure a position of strength in the battlefield in the hope of achieving a settlement in their favour at the conference table.

More than ever before, our entire people and armed forces in South Viet Nam have to further close their united ranks and widen their unity bloc so as to step up the resistance on the military, political and diplomatic fronts, translate into deeds the ultimate wishes of President Hồ Chí Minh and bring the South Viet Nam revolution to complete victory.

THIEN LY



United in Combat
(First Congress of South Viet Nam People's Representatives June, 1966)

"I firmly believe that under the clear-sighted leadership of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, provided with powerful armed and political forces, considerable experiences and a great national solidarity bloc, and enjoying the sympathy and support of the peoples of the socialist countries and the progressive people of the world, including the American people, our compatriots in South Viet Nam will certainly win final victory.

South Viet Nam will certainly be liberated !

Viet Nam will certainly be peaceful and reunified !

Our people in North and South Viet Nam will certainly live again under the same roof."

HO CHI MINH

Excerpts from the Message to Dr Nguyen Huu Tho on the 5th founding anniversary of the NFL

PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH CONGRATULATED VICE-PRESIDENT TON DUC THANG (1963).

editorial

TEN PRODIGIOUS YEARS OF LIFE OF THE NFL

THE South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is ten years old. Young though it is, it has worked wonders against American imperialism—the most truculent one of our time, commanding huge forces, a tremendous economic potential, up-to-date weapons and other war means. Young as it is, the NFL has all the glow of its age—militancy and the determination to win.

Our Front is in fine fettle. Invincible is its strength, the strength of South Viet Nam's 14-million people, of all organizations, parties and groupings, regardless of their political complexions, religious creeds and nationalities, animated with the same sense of purpose namely, resistance against American aggression, for national salvation. The Front's strength springs from national unity. Unity in the struggle against foreign invasion is our people's tradition, to which they owe their survival and incessant progress. With the strength of unity, our people, enslaved for many centuries, have stood up and become the real masters of their land. With it, the Front has put our country and our nation on the map. With it and with our successful fight against US imperialism—the common enemy of the world's peoples—we have earned the sympathy, support and great assistance of our brothers and friends in all continents.

ONCE all-powerful, our enemy regards himself as the master of the world. He is an experienced aggressor, notoriously vicious and machiavellian, extremely cunning and cruel. He treacherously elbowed his ally—France—out of South Viet Nam in the hope of ruling this country in her stead. Step by step, he has carried out his aggressive scheme and escalated the war: armed intervention then "special warfare" and "limited warfare." Each of his strategies is tougher than the one before, but also more disastrous. Each failure generates a new strategy whose fiasco turns out to be heavier than the one preceding it.

Aggression in South Viet Nam having come to grief, the US imperialists struck at North Viet Nam in an attempt to improve their lamentable situation in the South. Fighting in the two parts of the country, they were beaten in both, and eventually forced to end the bombing of the DRVN, then to come to the Paris Conference table and withdraw part of American troops under pressure from all sides. They have recklessly expanded the war to Laos, invaded Cambodia and prolonged the conflict in South Viet Nam through "Vietnamization." Their strategic formula is: puppet army + intensified B.52 strikes and chemical-agent sprayings. The tension has been aggravated in South Viet Nam and reached a peak in Indochina. The Yankee aggressors continue to sustain setback after setback. If the helicopter tactics and the amphibious-car tactics have not brought them victory, the use of B.52s and toxic chemicals have not proved more effective. The puppet army having been trounced, the US threw in its own troops to "fight the fire." However, the fire of the revolution has been spreading and both American and puppet troops have found themselves in dire distress. Now that the US has been cutting back its troop-strength and trying to resuscitate its agents, the reverses incurred can only be bitterer, not just in Viet Nam but in Cambodia and Laos as well. The US will face difficulties not merely in Indochina but at home and elsewhere in the world.

The Yankees entertain a great ambition: with over a million US, puppet and satellite troops equipped with sophisticated weapons and other war means, at the cost of about 82 million dollars a day, destroy the National Front for Liberation and quell the revolutionary movement in South Viet Nam. They dream of halting the impetuous advance of the revolution, of damming the tidal waves of the people's protest and are doing everything in their power to consolidate the puppet army and administration, thereby keeping South Viet Nam as a neo-colony of theirs. It is their intention to secure a position of strength on the battlefield and ultimately at the bargaining table. Nevertheless, the more vicious their intention, the worse the consequences, and the more they wriggle, the deeper they get bogged down in the mire.

THEY are furious but impotent in face of the successes and constant growth of the National Front for Liberation. The past ten years of the Front have witnessed wonders. With almost bare hands at the outset it dared confront the chieftain of imperialisms, the international gendarme, possessor of huge wealth and weaponry. And from this unequal fight it has emerged with flying colours.

The National Front for Liberation has won owing to its sound leadership which upholds the Vietnamese nation's tradition of undauntedness in this resistance to foreign aggression, resistance called for by the cherished aspirations of the people and the urgent requirements of the situation.

The National Front for Liberation has got the upper hand because it possesses appropriate imaginative fighting methods and forms, because it knows how to combine our people's military genius with advanced military science and the fighting experience of the fraternal countries.

The National Front for Liberation has carried the day because it has a solid rear base. The liberated zone in South Viet Nam constitutes an on-the-spot, direct rear area which has been continuously consolidated and developed, a logistical base with inexhaustible resources. The great fighting front that South Viet Nam is leans moreover on a great rear—socialist North Viet Nam. The latter which keeps on strengthening, and possessed of a sound economic and defence potential, holds high the standard that fires the people of South Viet Nam forward.

The National Front for Liberation has been successful because it enjoys the sympathy and support of the world and American peoples. The strength of our people's unity, the strength of the American and world peoples who join hands with us is a matchless, invincible force.

OUR prospects are very promising. Time is working for us. We have recorded great accomplishments and shall surely achieve total victory.

(Continued on page 14)

THE NFL is in their hearts

THE FIRST DAYS OF UNCERTAINTY

SAIGON in late 1960, early 1961. The gunfire of the abortive coup of November 1960 still echoed in the ears of the Saigon people, and still vivid in their minds were the memories of thousands of men and women who, wrongly believing that "the time had come," had stormed into Diem's palace only to be mowed down by both the dictator's troops and those engaged in the putsch.

The atmosphere was more stifling than ever. Every day news came of earth-shaking insurrections in central and western Nam Bo. People eagerly awaited changes. Even those who had so far displayed political apathy went in search of the "Revolution." But where was the Revolution? After decades of struggle, in the eyes of the people of Saigon, the Revolution could only be the Viet Nam Workers' Party, Uncle Ho, the national gold-starred red flag...

But one day in early 1961, on awaking up, the Saigon people found a new flag hoisted on many places in the city, a flag they had never seen before: blue and red, with a gold star together with leaflets announcing the birth of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. There was surprise and uncertainty in the first minutes. The Saigonese has a warm heart but a cool head. Over the past few years many self-styled "revolutionary" and "national" fronts, parties, and organizations had seen the light of day: they adopted flags, issued manifestoes, and invariably ended up on the payroll of the US or other embassies.

And so people tried hard to find out the truth: was the new Front "ours?" or "theirs?" Was it a genuine revolutionary people's organization, or a trap laid by the enemy? The Saigonese sought the advice of those whom they trusted, former members of the anti-French resistance. They listened carefully to broadcasts of Saigon Radio. "If the Americans and their lackeys start insulting and slandering the Front, then it must be an organization of our side!", they said to themselves. Everyone wanted to have a receiver set. Workers, pedicab drivers, people of the poorer strata would pool their money to buy radio sets, so as to be able to follow news and events more closely. Bewildered and a bit confused they were, but also in an exhilarating mood. Something new was going to happen, they all felt. A fresh breeze was blowing into the stifling atmosphere of Saigon crushed under the heels of the Americans and their puppets.

THEY ALL KNOW IT'S THEIRS

GRADUALLY the Front's manifesto and programme were disseminated and thoroughly explained among people of all walks of life in Saigon. The stand of the Front—to unite the entire people and overthrow the cruel US-puppet regime—touched the right chord in everybody. All found in it the right response to pre-occupations. Members of the bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia, in particular, warmly hailed the Front's stand for "peace and neutrality" as conformable to both reason and sentiment.

Some time later, the names of the members of the Front's Central Committee became known in Saigon. They were no strangers to the towns-people, but on the contrary well-known personalities highly esteemed for their talents and virtues: Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, Architect

A Saigon "combatant" mother

Huynh Tan Phat, Pharmacist Ho Thu, Playwright Tu Trang, Professor Nguyen Van Hieu. Saigon intellectuals recognized in them respected colleagues. The toiling people remembered them as co-fighters in the 1950 anti-American protests, the Tran Van On movement, the "peace" movement, the 1954-55 relief movement. "They are our people!" the Saigon people said to themselves. "They are genuine patriots!"

But what most powerfully drew the Saigonese, especially the labouring people, towards the Front was the concrete actions undertaken by it. In mid-1961, a strike broke out among pedicab drivers of the Hong Quang company. Front cadres quickly got in touch with them and gave them guidance, at the same time organizing fund-raising drives in their support. The pedicad drivers' struggle ended in victory. Other strikes, such as those by workers of Stanvac, Shell, Caravelle, etc., also received the Front's support and assistance in all respects. Thanks to the presence of the Front, the Saigonese felt stronger, more united and more confident. Gradually, mass organizations affiliated to the Front—the Toilers' Association for Liberation, later changed to Federation of Trade Unions for Liberation, Youth Association for Liberation, Women's Association for Liberation, and others—were set up in Saigon and drew more and more members. The workers mentioned above, who pooled their money to buy a radio set and listen to Hanoi broadcasts all joined the Toilers' Association for Liberation and became nuclei for enlaged membership.

The Saigon people often referred to the Front as "our side" or "the Liberation brothers," with profound love in their voices.

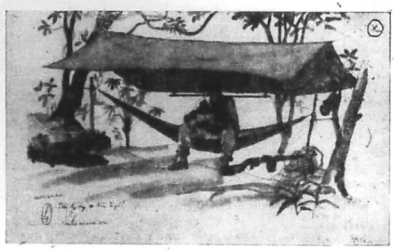
At first, the enemy adopted a tactic of silence. But as the Front's prestige and influence spread, he turned to slander and lie, labelling the Front as "Communist" and "Hanoi-directed." But the people, especially the toiling people, laughed at him. Did he really believe it so easy to take them in?

MOTHERLY LOVE

THE Saigonese has a burning revolutionary heart. Once having given his support to a cause, he stints neither money nor effort. He is ready to sacrifice his life and property in defence of the Front, of its cadres engaged in revolutionary action in the city itself. The cost of living is tremendously high in Saigon and most people live from hand to mouth. But everybody tries his utmost to save some money to contribute to the resistance to American aggression, for national salvation. On payday, workers immediately put aside one day's pay for the Front. Taxi, motorcab and pedicab drivers set aside earnings of the first day of the month—when business is most prosperous—for the same purpose. Newsvendors and water-carriers contributed their savings (from their breakfast money) to Front funds. Chinese pedlars work extra hours at night making cakes and sausage, the sale of which provides money for contributions to the Front.

Members of the bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia also make substantial contributions. Some wealthy people sponsor whole squads, even whole platoons of liberation troops. Others present the Front with gifts amounting to tens of thousands of *dongs*. Still others give refuge to Front cadres engaged in underground activities, knowing quite well that this may cost them their fortune and their freedom. People lend Front cadres their private cars, etc.

It is thanks to this sympathy and support of the people that Front cadres have been able safely to engage in all kinds of revolutionary activities right in the enemy's lair and to achieve such wonderful exploits as the attack on the aircraft carrier Card, the Brink hotel where American officers were billeted, the American embassy, etc. There are moving stories of Saigonese giving protection and shelter to Front cadres. Once in mid-1963, a cadre engaged in distributing leaflets was hunted by police. He ran into a workers' residential quarter. His pursuers shouted, "Stop thief!" Turning a corner, he met an old man who tried to stop him. "I am no thief," the cadre said, "I am a Front cadre." To prove what he said, he showed the old man the undistributed leaflets. Whereupon, the old man took him into his own house, gave him some clothes to change into, and made him escape through the back door. Then he went out to meet the cadre's pursuers and put them on the wrong track. What is more, a few hours later, when things had returned to normal, the old man started doing what the cadre had left unfinished: distributing the remaining leaflets! This story is but an instance among thousands.



On the way to the front

PLAF
combatants' daily routine

After a long march

• *Intimate comprehension*

• *A frugal meal*

• *To the front*

• *After victory rejoicing*

• *To improve combat technique*

• *Congratulation !*

6.— To build powerful South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces in order to emancipate the people and defend the fatherland.

— The South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces (comprising the regular units, the regional troops, and the militia and guerilla units) are sprung from the people ; they are boundlessly loyal to the interests of the fatherland and the people, and duty-bound to fight shoulder to shoulder with the entire people to liberate the South, defend the fatherland and make an active contribution to the defence of peace in Asia and in the world.

— To pay due attention to the building of the People's Liberation Armed Forces. To strive to raise their quality and increase their fighting capacity with a view to stepping up the people's war, defeating the US, satellite and puppet troops, and bringing the fight against US aggression, for national salvation, to complete victory.

— To strengthen political work with a view to enhancing the patriotism and determination to fight and win of the People's Liberation Armed Forces ; to raise their sense of discipline ; to continuously tight en the "fish-and-water" relations between the army and the people.

— Officers and men of the People's Liberation Armed Forces enjoy the right to vote and to stand for election, and enjoy land rights and all other citizen rights.

Political Program of the SVN NFL

TEN YEARS OF UNITY AND STRUGGLE
TEN YEARS OF GLORIOUS

THE SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION IS TEN YEARS OLD.

During the past ten years, South Viet Nam has witnessed miraculous events and at the same time overcome countless difficulties and hardships. On this occasion, let us look back over the road we have travelled and find in it a source of renewed enthusiasm, confidence, pride and determination to struggle, so as to bring our people's just patriotic cause to complete victory.

The birth of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation (NFL) was the necessary result of the Vietnamese people's valiant struggle over many years against the imperialist aggressors and their valets. That struggle, firmly maintained and ceaselessly developed, had grown into a broad, seething and impetuous movement which called for a unified, strong and broadly-based organization with a correct program, representative of the South Vietnamese people's legitimate interests, profound aspirations and deepest feelings, and possessed of adequate physical and mental strength to give them leadership in their march forward to win complete victory. It was in answer to those pressing requirements that the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation came into being.

Over the past ten years, the immense, all-sided and unprecedented achievements recorded by the South Vietnamese people under the glorious patriotic banner of the NFL have proved that the latter has fulfilled and is fulfilling the great historic task entrusted to it by the fatherland and the people.

At present, the NFL has become a strong political force which is giving leadership to the South Vietnamese people in deciding the evolution of our nation in the South and the destiny of the 14 million South Vietnamese in the present historical stage.

At present, the NFL, the organizer and leader of the South Vietnamese people's struggle, one of the most glorious struggles in our national history, has won great influence and high international prestige, which strikes our enemy with panic and infuses our friends all over the five continents with affection and joy.

The American imperialists and their agents are filled with impotent anger before the ceaselessly growing strength of the NFL and the South Vietnamese people. They have resorted to all kinds of lies and slanders. But it has been like trying to spit at the sun. The more they lie and slander, the more they expose their ugly features of aggressors and traitors, and the more they set off the great prestige and influence of the NFL, the genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people.

The past ten years is but a short period of time, but it marks a great stride forward of the NFL. Not a single patriotic and democratic organization in the South has failed to join it and pledge to fight under its glorious banner. The NFL has rallied in its ranks more than thirty organizations, parties, and groups, representing all political and religious tendencies and all nationalities. It has also engaged in joint action with many organizations and individuals still outside its ranks, on specific occasions.

The past ten years, in which the NFL has been consolidated and developed, have been marked by the blazing fire of the people's hatred of the enemy,

by the "death rather than servitude" spirit, by close national unity, determination to fight and win, and by life-and-death struggles against the American imperialist aggressors and their flunkeys.

The past ten years have witnessed a fierce confrontation between the South Vietnamese people, who stood up with only bare hands against the American imperialists, the imperialist chieftain and the international gendarme. In that unequal battle, the South Vietnamese people, fighting under the banner of the NFL, have got and are getting the upper hand.

The past ten years have been ten years of success for the line of national liberation revolution and people's war and ten years of failure for the aggressive and warlike colonialist policy of the American imperialists, ten years of continued bankruptcy of the neo-colonialist policy and the strategy of special warfare, then limited warfare, pursued by the American aggressors in South Viet Nam.

II

In the past ten years, the American imperialists have shown their true colours as neo-fascists, as the international gendarme and the most dangerous foe of the Indochinese peoples and the whole of mankind.

Having failed to save the French colonialists from dismal failure in Indochina, after the signing of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Viet Nam, the American imperialists ousted the French and rushed into South Viet Nam under the signboard of "aid." They poured dollars, weapons, and advisers into the South, rigged up a "republican" regime to serve as a tool for their neo-colonialist policy, in the hope of turning the South of our country into an American colony and military base. They carried out barbarous terror campaigns, ravaged fields and orchards, razed villages and hamlets to the ground, penned up our fellow-countrymen into concentration camps dubbed "agricultural settlements" or "prosperity centres," set up the guillotine everywhere, promulgated the fascist law 10/59, carried out merciless repression and massacre in the hope of stamping out the patriotic movement in South Viet Nam.

But the guillotine failed to save the US-puppet regime from collapse and their unilateral war failed to put down the South Vietnamese people's struggle for peace, national reunification, freedom, democracy, and improved living conditions. On the contrary, in late 1959 and early 1960, "concerted uprisings" broke out in many places, knocked down big chunks of the puppet administration and drove the Americans and their agents into a passive posture.

The American imperialists then introduced more military advisers and troops, tens of thousands of tons more of weapons and war equipment, while increasing their "aid" in dollars. Relying on newfangled tactics using helicopters and amphibious personnel carriers, they started a "special war" aimed at "pacifying" South Viet Nam within a period of 18 months.

But once again the strategic efforts of the American imperialists and their valets vanished into thin smoke. Their "special warfare" strategy was entirely smashed and they ran into disillusion and nightmares in spite of all their frantic efforts.

But they did not resign themselves to defeat, and made repeated attempts to retrieve their desperate situation. They introduced American expeditionary troops into South Viet Nam, started a "limited war" there, and at the same time waged an air and naval war of destruction against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

In the past ten years, it is clear that the American imperialists have mobilized and concentrated to the utmost their war potential so as to implement their aggressive neo-colonialist designs. They have stopped at no barbarous war measure; they have used bombs and shells, toxic chemicals, poison gases, napalm and phosphorus bombs to carry out a war of extermination against the South Vietnamese people. According to still incomplete figures, they have used ten million tons of bombs and shells, tens of thousands of tons of toxic chemicals and poison gases, and spent each day 82 million dollars in the perpetration of untold crimes against the people of both zones, North and South, of our country.

But it is also clear that the American imperialists have suffered pitiful failure.

Their "limited warfare" strategy is meeting with irretrievable bankruptcy. All along these years of war, each time they rashly made one step further in the "tunnel with no end in sight," the American imperialists have sustained ever heavier failures, and got ever more bogged down. The more they tried to extricate themselves from the morass, the deeper they sank into the abyss of defeat.

It is clear that their most strenuous strategic efforts have failed. But can the leopard change its spots? The American imperialists have persisted in their aggressive designs and obstinately clung to their hopes of stamping out the South Vietnamese revolutionary movement and annihilating the NFL. They still nurture the ambition of stemming and driving back step by step the revolutionary tide, the tempest of struggle, in South Viet Nam by

Dr. NGUYEN HUU THO

Chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation

AGAINST AMERICAN AGGRESSION, COMBAT AND VICTORY

Mr HUYNH TAN PHAT

President of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of SVN

striving to maintain and consolidate the puppet army and administration, their tool for aggression, through the so-called "Vietnamization" program which, they hope, would provide them with a posture of strength, a new lease of life in South Viet Nam, an occasion to put their outdated neo-colonialism back on its feet.

But they are just trying to "catch the reflection of the moon in a pond." They have left no stone unturned but their situation has grown from bad to worse and they are heading for unavoidable disaster.

III

OVER the past ten years, under the leadership of the NFL the South Vietnamese people have made giant strides, smashed all enemy schemes and manœuvres, and won victories without precedent in history.

The American aggressors had thought they could get the better of our people thanks to their colossal military machine, their up-to-date war means, and the extension of the war. Relying on the more than one million American, satellite and puppet troops, they launched two strategic counter-offensives in the dry season of 1965-1966 and 1966-1967 with the essential aim of "searching and destroying the main forces" of the liberation army, "breaking the backbone" of our people and armed forces, and defeating the South Vietnamese people's liberation war. But the American imperialists were grossly mistaken. Both their strategic counter-offensives met with pitiful failure. Basing themselves on a correct analysis and assessment of the situation, our armed forces and people resolutely pushed forward the resistance to American aggression, for national salvation, attacking the Americans while annihilating the puppets, launched repeated offensives, won many great successes, firmly maintained the initiative on the battlefield, and defeated the Americans in the initial stage of their "limited" war. From a strategy of counter offensive, the aggressors had to fall back on a defensive one. It was a great strategic setback for the Americans in their war of aggression in South Viet Nam.

On the strength of those victories, in the spring of the year Mau Than (1968), the people and armed forces of South Viet Nam, by an offensive coupled with concerted uprisings, dealt a crushing blow at the Americans and their puppets, drove them deeper into a state of passivity, won unprecedented victories in all fields which marked a historic turning point in our people's resistance to American aggression, for national salvation.

Within only a short period of time, we annihilated or disbanded large numbers of enemy troops and destroyed large quantities of war means. We hit accurately at the enemy's political and military centres, key organs and major logistic bases. The successes of Tet of the year Mau Than took our people's struggle onto a new stage: that of general offensive and concerted uprisings, the highest in the revolutionary war. The essential content of this stage is that our people and armed forces have developed to the full the strategy of all-out offensive, have recorded repeated successes, and are advancing towards complete victory; on the other hand, the American aggressors and their valets have been definitely put on the defensive, have suffered repeated setbacks and are heading for complete defeat.

Over the past ten years, firmly maintaining a strategic offensive posture, the people and armed forces of South Viet Nam have won substantial victories in destroying the enemy's vital forces and war equipment, winning sovereignty, developing their own military and political forces, impelling the struggle movement in the urban areas, broadening the national front against American aggression, and tipping the balance of forces more and more in our favour.

Meanwhile, the forces of the resistance have ceaselessly developed in both quantity and quality. All three categories of the liberation troops have grown ever stronger and have been rationally disposed in all battlefields; for these reasons, they have ceaselessly developed their offensive capabilities and have now become an invincible army.

IV

IN face of such a truculent enemy as the American imperialists, our people have waged a national and all-sided struggle, a people's war of unprecedented scope, vigour, and determination in history. Every hour, every minute, we are acting creatively and developing to the fullest extent the principles of people's war. We are attacking the enemy not only with guns and booby-traps but also through political actions. Our fundamental guideline and orientation is to couple political action with armed struggle, considering the former an important factor with as decisive a role as the latter for defeating the American imperialists and their valets. We have set out to build a powerful political force, the core of which is the "long-haired army" (composed of women). Over the past ten years, our people's political forces have grown by leaps and bounds. Our political forces have indeed mustered immense power and rallied people of all walks of life, classes, political tendencies and religious beliefs. The movement of political struggle evolved into the concerted uprisings of the spring of Mau Than, which made an immense contribution to the all-sided successes scored by our people and armed forces.

Political struggle develops powerfully not only in the countryside but also in the towns and cities. In the history of our people's struggle, will be recorded for ever the actions performed by workers and other toilers, school and college students, intellectuals, Buddhists, journalists, teachers, writers, artists and others. Such highwater marks have been

reached as the Buddhists' protests in late 1963, those of Saigon workers and other toilers in September 1964, of Buddhists and students in Saigon, Hue, and Da Nang in January 1966, those of working people, intellectuals, Buddhists, and journalists in early 1969, those of students since mid-1970, etc. The struggles waged by our people in the towns and cities, coupled with the all-sided victories scored by our people and armed forces, have shaken the puppet regime to its foundations. This movement is a great rehearsal for the day when the urban people will rush forward to break the enemy's grip and win sovereignty. In the towns and cities of South Viet Nam, a front has taken shape which has drawn into its ranks even officers and men of the puppet army and members of the puppet administration, who have joined the struggle to restore peace, overthrow the Thieu-Ky-Khieu clique, and demand serious negotiations with the Provisional Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. The birth of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces marked a brilliant victory of the policy of national unity pursued by the NFL. This political development has made the combat front of the urban people even stronger and firmer and has consolidated and broadened the national united front in South Viet Nam against American aggression.

V

THE immense successes won by our people and armed forces have led to the formation of great liberated areas from the south bank of the Ben Hai river to Cape Ca Mau. To build liberated zone, which serve as the firm bases and rear areas of the resistance to mobilize the people's revolutionary potential and foster and develop their strength, is a strategic requirement of the revolution. It is also a tremendous achievement of our people over the past ten years under the leading banner of the NFL. It has served as the basis for all the immense and all-sided successes recorded by our people during the past ten years and is the sure guarantee for our ultimate victory.

In these ever-broadening liberated zone, revolutionary power, a power truly representative of our people's legitimate interests and aspirations, came into being, at first in the form of "People's Committees for Self-management." Under the leadership of NFL committees at the base, those people's committees for self-management fulfilled a certain number of essential functions of political power: repressing members of the puppet administration, organizing the people's life, carrying into effect

(Continued on page 18)

What do Saigon school and college girls think of?*

WHETHER they attend the Gia Long, Le Van Duyet, Hung Dao, Duc Tri or the Nguyen Ba Tong school, whether they are in Saigon, Hue, Da Nang, Dalat or Can Tho, the South Viet Nam school and college girls are first and foremost daughters of Viet Nam.

The mention of the words Viet Nam at present conjures up the images of war, of death, of millions of tons of bombs released on the North and on the South, of the world's biggest "slaughter house" where hundreds of thousands of people are killed. The mere phrase Vietnamese school and college girls is associated with names like Quach Thi Trang who went in the forefront of the demonstrations in Tu Do street against tyranny, and of many others of their mates who suffered all kinds of torture and imprisonment for their longing for peace and the right to live.

When one refers to Vietnamese girls now one cannot but think of tens of thousands of country girls killed or wounded, or bereft of their dear ones, or of tens of thousands of others who have become playthings for foreign troops and forced into an ignominious life.

Every boy, every girl in this South Vietnamese society has lost something. At first sight, the boy appears to be the most affected as he is hit by the mobilization law. His greatest anxiety is to be sent to kill, especially to kill his kith and kin.

However, in this war, the casualties of bombs and shells are not only soldiers, but also fishermen, rice-transplanters, buffalo boys, dependants of civil servants and armymen; school girls are not immune, even if they live in Saigon, because they are of the number of the 31 million Vietnamese who, according to authoritative estimates, receive each a "quota" of 400 kilograms of explosive in the form of bombs and shells.

But death is not the only horror of war. In fact what the young girls lose is immeasurable. Of some of them no relatives have died in this war, but this does not mean that they have been spared in any respect by the calamity.

According to statistics, 8 per cent of Vietnamese women is affected by chronic headaches, loss of memory, insanity, heart complaint, or give birth to monstrosities, which are all after effects of toxic chemicals.

The country folk are not aware of the 10 million tons of hardware dumped on their heads, houses and gardens; but they see that their kindred are killed, their dwellings burnt down, their fields devastated and that many of them themselves have an arm or a leg, one or even two eyes less because of the war. They do not know the percentage of people afflicted with brain or heart diseases but quite a few of them themselves suffer from these complaints.

We have been grieved by the same losses and diseases and in addition we know these terrible figures. We know them to feel grieved at the lot of a subjugated nation and also to rouse up those who are living a sedate and separate life. We know them not to keep abreast with the latest events, nor to become pessimists, but to do something likely to end this frightful predicament of the nation threatened with extermination.

This suffering wreaked on the Vietnamese people by a destructive force hundreds of times stronger than the Hiroshima bomb should be borne in mind by Vietnamese school children just like the loss of their dear ones or the destruction of their homes.

Together with the rest of their people, the Vietnamese school girls share the mourning befallen their nation,

they add their voices to those demanding peace, and the right to live, the more the self-immolation of Nhat Chi Mai for peace is hushed up, the more it is alive in the hearts of all Vietnamese people particularly of the school girls! In each of their hearts a fire is burning. "We're not afraid of tear grenades, we're not afraid of bludgeons, of rockets, of imprisonment and torture, we're not even afraid of death provided we die for peace like sister Nhat Chi Mai!"

How fine are their feelings!

People usually call them the fair sex, and compare their feebleness to water. Don't take offence too early. Who says that water is weak. It is for us an honour to be likened to water, for water corrodes stone in the long run and puts out fires. We girls too, despite our frail appearance, are endowed with a supernatural strength.

Never did the Vietnamese school and college girls need so much use such a strength as today, for never did the Vietnamese people experience such great a scourge as today. When one Quach Thi Trang falls, many other Quach Thi Trangs come forward and rush up; when a Nhat Chi Mai burns herself to death, tens of thousands of torches are lit after one another to keep the flames blazing. This is to say to the world that, together with their people, the Vietnamese girls share the love for freedom and peace and the hatred for despotism and this drawn-out genocidal war.

However the popular aspiration for peace not only is not complied with but even slandered and suppressed. We, school and college girls do know what we want when we claim the most elementary rights to live. We have had our eyes opened by the ugly scenes in the streets and at the same time the wretchedness of the slums. We are familiar with sights of Vietnamese women walking at the side of foreigners with half-blood children. We see everyday women elope when not as humoured by their husbands as they want; we witness scenes of ephemeral life and of luxurious living. We hear maudlin or lewd songs. We are taught that the foreigners who invest money in the country are friends and benefactors whereas our bare-footed countrymen are suspects and foes. We learn to like wealth, beautiful dresses and jewels rather than labour. All that may alienate us, put us completely out of touch with our country and turn us into monsters in human shape, devoid of any human dignity.

In the meantime, our families and fellow-countrymen are crushed under the weight of injustice, heavy taxes, corruption and abuse of power. The case of the two women raped to death by GIs at Binh Tuy has been a common occurrence all over the South, it hurts the dignity and endangers the lives of women.

The school and college girl who rises up to fight for the right to live and for an end to the war—the root cause of all social injustices—has taken a stand in the world as she sides not with the haves and the exploiters, but with the have-nots, the people. Like a torrent in spate, she will advance.

LIEN NHU

Translated from the Vietnamese of an article in Saigon paper Dai Dan Toc *(Great Nation)*

* *Titles ours (Edit.)*

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Saigon college and school youths demonstrating against Thieu — Ky —Khiem.

The resistance war against US aggression may drag out. Our compatriots may have to undergo new sacrifices in terms of property and human lives. In any case, we must be resolved to fight against the US aggressors till total victory.

Our rivers, our mountains, our men will always remain,

The Yanks defeated, we will build our country ten times more beautiful.

No matter what difficulties and hardships may lie ahead, our people are sure to win total victory. The US imperialists will have to pull out. Our Fatherland will be reunified. Our compatriots in the North and in the South will be re-united under the same roof. Our country will have the signal honour of being a small nation which, through a heroic struggle, has defeated two big imperialisms — the French and the American — and made a worthy contribution to the national liberation movement.

(Testament of President **HO CHI MINH)**

A GIRL STUDENT IN HUE

IN the battles in Hue citadel, nobody could ever forget Trinh, a flower-like girl student of the Pharmaceutical College.

I met her at Dong Ba post office amidst a heap of crockery and kitchen utensils, near a hot spirit-stove, her oval-shaped face beaded with sweat. She was wearing a pair of tight black trousers and a yellow shirt, her hair done into a pony-tail, and was busily giving armymen steaming dishes, piping hot milk, or delicious pancakes or sweets. These were always accompanied by encouraging words: "Eat your fill and go and clobber them..."

At odd moments in the night, Trinh usually confided to us: "It was very hard to get a seat in the Saigon-Da Nang plane, and still harder in a bus from An Loi to Hue," she said. "Once in Hue, I had to buckle down right away to get ready for the next combat and for your reception." In fact, she had to scour the city streets on her Suzuki to get all these things.

Pointing her finger to the cakes, tins of milk and canned fish piling up in a corner, she went on:

"They are all given by our folks and brought here with the help of students. At that time I was so happy to the point of distraction, but I didn't feel tired and am now in fine fettle..."

Trinh's firm confidence in the victory of the resistance against the Americans could be sensed in her eager voice and ringing laughter which drowned enemy bomb explosions and gun reports. While helping our fighters — regular troops, officers, guerillas as well as raw recruits — to foods and drinks, Trinh also showed them the faith of the youth growing up in enemy-held areas.

Two days after the occupation of Hue by the Liberation troops, a fierce fire-fight took place in Mai Thuc Loan street. When the youth group moved off to another place, I asked Trinh: "Will you join us?"

"Of course!," she replied.

"Do you have any problem?".

"Not at all!"

The following day she was seen in Nguyen Thanh street, a pistol on her side, running from one shelter to another as if she had forgotten that at 500 metres from her, American aircraft were dumping a dozen tons of bombs on Dong Ba gate and their guns pounding at dwelling houses had triggered big fires. As the fighting grew tougher, Trinh showed more nimbleness and

resourcefulness. She always prepared hot meals for the fighters who were repelling wave after wave of enemy attacks against Dong Ba gate or heroically disputing with the enemy every inch of ground in the city.

In the thick of bombardment that young girl of Hue city was over head and ears in work and proved all the more courageous in face of the enemy. One rainy night, the Youth's Union was assigned the task of burying two fighters killed in the afternoon battle. As there was a lot to do, we could only detail seven young people for the job. One more was needed. The Youth Union head was reluctant to tell off one of the young guerillas who were sleeping soundly in a corner of the room; perhaps he did not want to trouble them after many days of hard fighting. But Trinh rushed in and said: "Let me go."

"No. The job does not fit you, and their shelling is very heavy," the Union's head told her, shouting at the top of his voice.

"I can do it," she said and set out with a shovel on her shoulder.

There was a cold drizzle. The enemy shells lit up the sky and set afire many houses along our road. An L.19 spotter plane was droning over our head. It was in such circumstances that Trinh and we carried off the corpses of our comrades to bury them. Later, Trinh confessed: "It was the first time I did that."

She did all kinds of work. With the youth's armed propaganda units, she went to Hung Vuong, Dinh Cong Trang and Han Thuyen streets and the poor's quarters calling the inhabitants to meetings, or explaining the Front's policy. She went with our men to the "open arms" office, and the police station in the Citadel to take documents and other materials. Once she and her mates passed through Dong Ba gate under heavy enemy fire to fetch medicines. She carried through these jobs. She had not learned to do them at the Saigon University. No. "The Viet Congs have taught me all that," she commented by way of joke.

Another day, as food was running short, she went to a locality near the citadel to buy papaws. Two choppers were circling overhead, straffing now and then the area of the papaw trees where they suspected people were thronging. Trinh waited until one of the choppers was gone to rush to the trees and pick some fruit. But she was spotted by the other helicopter which made a diving into release a burst of machine gun fire. When she was led by a friend into cover, the papaw trees were truncated. Trinh heaved a sigh of relief but remarked, laughing, "The Americans are such bad shots!"

Trinh was one of the splendid flowers blooming during our offensives against the urban centres in South Viet Nam. Always smiling and firmly confident in the revolution she has, like the other youths, been marching to the frontline of the struggle for national liberation.

HO NGUYEN

4. To build a national and democratic culture and education, to develop science and technology, to promote public health.

— To eliminate the American-type enslaving and depraved culture and education now adversely affecting our people's fine, long-standing cultural traditions.

— To build a national and democratic culture and education: to develop science and technology to serve national construction and defence.

— To educate the people in the Vietnamese nation's tradition of struggle against foreign invasion and its heroic history. To preserve and develop the fine culture and good customs and habits of our nation.

— To raise the people's cultural standard: to liquidate illiteracy, to promote complementary education: to open new general — education schools, higher-education establishments and vocational schools. To make all-out efforts to train and foster scientific workers, technicians and skilled workers.

To use the Vietnamese language as teaching medium in higher-education establishments.

To reduce school and college fees: to exempt poor pupils and students from school fees, and grant them scholarship.

To reform the system of examinations.

— To give every possible help to the youths and children who have rendered services in the fight against US aggression, for national salvation, the children of families who have rendered services to the revolution, and other outstanding youths so as to enable them to study and develop their capabilities.

— All citizens have the right to carry out freely scientific and technological researches, to devote themselves to literary and artistic creation, and to participate in other cultural activities: to encourage intellectuals, writers, artists and scientists and afford them favorable conditions for research work, creation and invention in the service of the fatherland and the people.

To give help to cultural workers, writers and artists who have been persecuted by the US imperialists and their lackey owing to their patriotic activities.

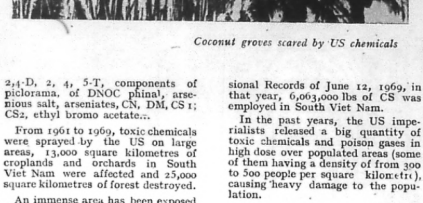
Political Program of the South Viet Nam NFL

CHEMICAL WARFARE
A US CRIME OF GENOCIDE

THE war of aggression waged by the US imperialists in South Viet Nam is a heinous crime which has stirred up widespread indignation. Apart from killing South Vietnamese with bombs and shells, the aggressors have been conducting a chemical war on a scale unknown in the history of mankind.

Despite the fact that the American authorities have disguised the instrument of their crime under such names as "weed killer" and "defoliant," we have been in fact faced with a chemical war.

From 1961 onward, under the label of "terrain clearing," "weed killer," "defoliant," they have made use in South Viet Nam of such toxic chemicals as components of



Coconut groves scared by US chemicals

2,4-D, 2, 4, 5-T, components of piclorama, of DNOC phinal, arsenious salt, arseniates, CN, DM, CS 1; CS_2, ethyl bromo acetate...

From 1961 to 1969, toxic chemicals were sprayed by the US on large areas, 13,000 square kilometres of croplands and orchards in South Viet Nam were affected and 25,000 square kilometres of forest destroyed.

An immense area has been exposed to a chemicals of a high degree of saturation. Most typical was the April 5, 1970 operation by C.123 planes which, in ten flights dumped in all 10 tons of ester 2,4-D, 2,4,5-T on 30 villages in Tra Linh district, Quang Nam province, that is over 300 kilograms per hectare. Each area has been sprayed a dozen times a year. In 1969, all the 9 villages in Dong Giang district, Quang Da province were struck 100 times.

The quantity of toxic chemicals and poison gases used by the US in South Viet Nam is beyond estimation, but according to the calculations of American scientists and revelations made by the White House we can have a rough idea of the amount sprayed here. The American professors J.B. Neilands and Meslson have disclosed that the "tree-killer" used in South Viet Nam is 500,000 tons. With regard to poison gases, from 1964 to 1969, the US used in South Viet Nam, at least 7,000 tons of CS. According to the US Congressional Records of June 12, 1969, in that year, 6,063,000 lbs of CS was employed in South Viet Nam.

In the past years, the US imperialists released a big quantity of toxic chemicals and poison gases in high dose over populated areas (some of them having a density of from 300 to 500 people per square kilometre), causing heavy damage to the population.

PHYSIOLOGICAL CHANGES IN MAN

While the scientists in the world are most anxious about the physiological consequences of exposure to toxic chemicals in human beings and the air, Nixon poisons this air and men in South Viet Nam in a systematic manner, and on a large scale by modern means.

This is already the case of South Viet Nam where many forests have been destroyed many times, by noxious chemicals.

However the most important problem posed by chemical warfare in South Viet Nam is its serious effects on a number of physiological factors, whose consequences for the future are unforeseeable.

South Viet Nam has 30 per cent of forest and is subject to the monsoon regime. Owing to US chemical warfare, which destroys vegetation, the temperature has changed: the temperature of the atmosphere and that of the earth are higher than formerly. On the other hand, erosion is more serious especially on the sloping parts of the seacoast in Central Trung Bo. The terrible typhoon and floods which occurred in October 1970 in this region was a tragic illustration of the terrible havoc of toxic chemicals on the soil and forest trees. Every year hurricanes and floods grow more and more devastating. Those in 1970 were more catastrophic than those in 1964. Erosion and the acidity of the soil increase, while the nutritive matters and humidity are sharply reduced. All this brings about the change of water level and flow of rivers, and lateritization. Especially the number of microorganisms decreases notably in contaminated soil, the most affected being viruses.

The change in the physical and chemical character of the soil as well as the change in the quantity and ratio of microorganisms generates a disorder, is harmful to the process of dissociation and exchange of soil matters and is likely to lead to the accumulation of noxious elements resulting from the incomplete decomposition of organic matters in the soil.

MONSTROSITIES AND HEREDITY

The living medium of man, nature, animals, vegetation and microorganisms have been thus greatly affected. What about man himself?

Those who contracted incurable diseases or died from poisonous chemicals from 1961 to 1969 amounted to 1,293,000 people. In South Viet Nam stricken areas a notable increase has been recorded for cases of abortion, monstrosities, menses trouble. Professor Arthur Ralston, an American botanist of Yale University, has concluded in a study: Any Vietnamese women who drink rain water or raw water contaminated by these chemicals to a saturation degree of 50 milligrams per kilogram of water in a day will have their foetus affected.

Time of November 2, 1970 wrote that a classified research by the National Cancer Institute had cast a serious doubt on the main component of the "orange" substance, that is the 2,4,5-T. 80 per cent of baby mice born of a mouse fed with a small quantity of this substance died instantly while the 20 per cent alive were monstrosities.

The above-mentioned report and study corroborate the pernicious effects of the chemicals sprayed by the US on immense areas in South Viet Nam.

The US chemical war in South Viet Nam hits not only at the present generation, but much more serious still, future generations of Vietnamese.

THIS serious war crime committed by the Americans in their war of aggression has dwarfed anything the Hitlerites ever did.

Only by terminating the war of aggression can we stop the US war crimes committed by chemical warfare.

To stay Nixon's criminal hands, to militate for an end to his aggressive war, the withdrawal of all his troops and those of US satellites from South Viet Nam and to remove the Thieu-Ky-Khiem junta, is not only an urgent objective of the South Viet Nam people, the American people and all justice-loving peoples in Viet Nam and the US and of justice-loving mankind, but also that of true scientists all over the world.

N. Q.

The canal of my native village

I had a chance to come back to this canal. Like all green colours throughout our country, the green of the stream calls up familiar things... It seemed that some boatman's voice was vibrating in the air full of the fragrance of ripe fruit, some row boat reaching the bank was greeted by children's cheers, and somewhere, a lilting lullaby: "The fish swims in the long river..." or "Salt with ginger...," one of those folksongs which send babies to sleep and bring joy to adults. They echo the nation's voice, they extol feelings which have peopled the hearts of generations like faithfulness and love...

The scenery was the same as before.

But, in the sunny summer morning, along the banks of the straight canal, branches cut down by American bombs lay on the surface of water like emaciated limbs "*long tong*" fish with their white bellies up were drifting like dead leaves. Smoke-blackened stumps of trees littered the shores. On a drooping branch of peach-tree, drops of red resin had oozed out from gaping wounds. Not a single green leaf stood out against the background of the blue sky when you looked from under through the branches of inclined trees. American chemicals had been sprayed here. Instead of the fragrance of ripe fruit, nature was pervaded with the pungent napalm smell. The Yanks went on exterminating life, wiping out the remaining stumps and birds.

A patch of green of my fatherland had been torn away, hadn't it?

My village with its cosy cottages had been destroyed and I saw no familiar faces. And yet, the sound of pestles, voices lulling babies to sleep and crackling calls to the poultry and the rustle of leaves at the contact of fruit-picking poles were ringing in my ears. As I wandered about the ruins, they resounded more profoundly within me.

I knew that the Americans had come here one morning. After gasing children taking refuge in a shelter, they proudly penned one more flag of victory on the operational map. There is always some stupidity in cruelty. The Americans think they can easily "conquer" Viet Nam whose history was six times older than that of the US.

They think they can with impunity poison our atmosphere, and land troops on our coasts. Behaving themselves like masters, they have come from the other side of the Pacific to fight us, the "aggressors." They boast they are "humanitarian" for they kill other men with gas. They are rather the shame of mankind. They smear the memory of those who discovered America. The statue of Liberty dominating New York is a colossal piece of irony. Any child could take them aback with such questions as: "What would you do if thousands of tons of bombs were dumped on affluent California, or chemicals burned the orchards of Florida, or hordes of invaders ravaged the coasts of Miami or your industrial areas? Who do you think you are to give yourselves the right to massacre our people?"

In the name of humanitarianism, they kill with gas large numbers of Vietnamese as Hitler sent numberless victims to crematoriums.

Their "humane" weapons have been forbidden by mankind for two thousand years. Before the Christian era and long before the discovery of America, the most cruel war criminals were sent to the gallows.

I took a dive in the canal. Nenuphars were bobbing on the water.

A lullaby came back to my memory:

"Only who has counted the tiles on the communal house's roof

"Can know how much I love you..."

Images of yester-year flashed through my mind. On a sunny morning, just like that one, I had said good-bye to you on this bank, among "*ô moi*" flowers. You told me the same farewell words said by my mother to my father at the beginning of the Resistance to the French colonialists. As I was whispering to you, "My love, I must go and fight for the country," you looked me in the eyes, tenderly and proudly. Throughout thousands of years of history, the banks of our streams had witnessed quite a lot of similar scenes, and heard the same words repeated by generations.

When seeing me off, mother said to me:

"The revolution needs boys, I give her my boy, when she needs girls, I gave her my daughter. If she needs rice, here's some rice of mine. I give what I have."

That is the way things begin. Sufferings and humiliations rouse the slave to take up arms. Those who dare not face cruelty are not worthy of being men.

We left, with the beloved images of our native villages engraved on our hearts and minds. Oppressed people in the world carry in their hearts and minds our own images. One link of the fetters with which the Americans want to enchain mankind has been broken on our soil. A missing link makes the whole chain ineffective.

We thank our friends in the world for having given us such a privilege.

Who are the war criminals?

IT is with great pain that an American listens to the testimony that we have heard here for the last two days. One hears children testify and one wonders what kind of a nation, one equipped with the most powerful arsenal in the history of man, must make war on children. It is small comfort to realize that the Nixon-Agnew administration is as anxious to oppress the American people as it is to oppress the people of Indochina. But knowing that one knows that the only hope for the survival of democracy in the United States rests with the victory of the people of Viet Nam.

Following disclosure of the massacre at My Lai, the disclosure in the world press occurring just one year after the event, and following the reaction to the disclosure in America, it was decided that certain persons would be tried for this "isolated incident," as Nixon described it. Most of those to be tried are low-ranking soldiers of whom many are black, Puerto Rican, Mexican American or members of other oppressed minority groups in America. To try one of these men without first trying those who established the policy by which the war has been fought is to impose a judgment at Nuremberg in which Corporal Schultz or Sergeant Schmidt were found guilty and a judgment in which no one even thought of charging Hitler, Himmler, Speer or Goering.

Who are the war criminals? Lyndon B. Johnson, Hubert H. Humphrey, Robert McNamara and of course Dow and Agnew and General Motors, General Dynamics, Dow Chemical and the other industrialists who have made the war possible.

It has been said that the war in Viet Nam is like all wars—that there are always atrocities in war. Recently General Stig Synnergreen, the Commanding General of Sweden made some such statement. This is not true. Not all wars, however brutal, are wars of genocide. The American military recognizes the enemy to be not just the NLF but the people of Viet Nam and therefore it is only through the elimination of the Vietnamese people that an American "victory" can be achieved. This becomes clear during the basic training given to Marine Corps recruits. Here racism and brutality are encouraged. The Marines are made to shout "kill, kill, kill" hundreds of times each day. If they refer to anyone, even a member of the ARVN, even Ky himself, as a Vietnamese they are punished. They are made to refer to Vietnamese as "gooks" or "slopes" or by the other derogatory words. The Marines and the soldiers in the Army are given orientation lectures before they leave America and just after they arrive in Viet Nam. At these lectures, given by officers, they are told that all of the people are potential enemies, that a four-year-old child may carry a bomb, that a woman with a child in her arms may also hold a weapon. Soon it becomes clear to the soldiers that the reason they were given for the American presence in Viet Nam, "to help the people of the country" is false, that instead their job is to kill the people. This conflict is too great for many young men. Many become insane or so brutalized that they are quite abnormal. The US Army itself has recently established a panel of military psychiatrists to deal with this problem which they refer to as "the post Viet Nam syndrome." The rising crime rate in America can be partly attributed to the brutalized soldiers who return home without respect for human life, without a concept of morality and burdened in addition with deep feelings of guilt for their own conduct in Viet Nam and intensive feelings of anger directed against those who sent them there.

Of course, other responses are possible and they are now taking place. Among the soldiers and sailors and Marines there is a strong and growing movement against the war. There are several different GI organizations against the war that have been formed. So widespread is this feeling that there is not a single American Army, Navy or Marine Corps base in America, in West Germany, in Japan, in Viet Nam, where there are not some GIs meeting now to oppose the war. There is not a single American ship at sea without members of anti-war organizations. More than 75 different newspapers are published by these servicemen. Following the invasion of Cambodia in May of this year the students of America closed down the educational institutions for the first time in the country's history. What is not so well known is that the servicemen cancelled Armed Forces Day for the first time in the country's history. May 16 is the day on which the generals and admirals sit back and watch the soldiers march, the planes fly by and the tanks rumble before them. This year the servicemen held their own demonstrations on bases throughout the country. I spoke at one of them along with the film actress Jane Fonda. It was at Fort Bragg in North Carolina, the home of the Special Forces, or the Green Berets. Some 8,000 people were present. They were soldiers and their wives and friends and supporters. The soldiers came in spite of the military orders not to attend the rally held very close to the base. This same scene was repeated at bases throughout America as the servicemen declared May 16, 1970, to be 'People's Armed Forces Day.'

The veterans of the war have become increasing active as well. Last month one hundred and fifty veterans of the war in Viet Nam dressed in their combat uniforms, with helmets and jungle boots. They carried plastic M-16s and they march to Valley Forge, Pennsylvania where almost 200 years before General George Washington kept the American revolution alive through a cold winter. These veterans marched for four days, travelling about 150 kilometers, sleeping out in the fields at night. As they passed through small towns they acted as if they were back in Viet Nam. They forced the civilians to stand against the wall. They interrogated women and children. They made believe they were going to kill them. Then just before they left the village they passed out leaflets to the people. The leaflets said, "An American Army Company just passed through your town. If you were living in Viet Nam we would have killed you, raped your wife and burned down your home. We did those things in Viet Nam. End the war now. Your son will come home in a coffin or as a butcher." I don't think that the people in the town that the veterans passed through will ever forget that experience.

One thousand veterans of the war have called for a conference to take place on December 1, 2 and 3 in Detroit. It will be an inquiry into war crimes and more than one hundred veterans will testify about war crimes in Viet Nam. It is hoped that Vietnamese witnesses will be in Windsor, Canada, just across the border, and that the two halls will be connected by closed circuit television.

PRESIDENT Nixon has said on many occasions that he does not want to be the first American President to lose a war. He may soon be the first American President to lose an Army and he may soon lose the country as well. He has made it clear to the college students that they need not go to Viet Nam to die, that they can die on the college campus as they oppose the war. We are ready for this escalation in America and we are determined to end the war by the use of whatever means are necessary.

MARK LANE

Remarks at the International Commission of Enquiry Into US War Crimes in Indochina.

We are conscious that we are fortunate enough to live in a unique epoch. We know that a beast at bay is all the more ferocious. We corner it with all our strength decupled by our mothers' farewell words and the awareness of our "raison d'être" and of everyone's.

"My love is for him who is fighting for Viet Nam," this folk song comes to us from Cuba, from the other side of the earth. Thank you, friends, for linking the world to our small country!

In the United States itself, a father with three children, Morrison, burnt himself to death to warn the aggressors and focus public attention on the cause of Viet Nam.

Viet Nam for whom people are ready to shed their blood has been standing up to the common enemy of mankind, the most wicked ever known. Making every sacrifice and facing every trial, she has fought valiantly and stirred up the best feelings in man.

IN the evening, I took leave of my canal.

The black fume from napalm-charred cajeputs mingled with wreaths of white smoke from rice cooking in devastated orchards. Glow-worms were flitting about leafless trees, twinkling like far-off stars.

Every time I leave such desolate areas, I cannot help thinking of our aggressors.

Yes, the Americans had been here, their chemicals had left scars on branches and in shelters. Swarms of them are in Saigon and other cities in the world. They bear on their chests their names and the inscription: "US Army." In Okinawa, they wander about the streets, with their hands in their pockets, but in Saigon, they ogle passers-by suspiciously, ready on the draw. While in Thailand, they snatch away with impunity money from street-walkers and labour under the delusion that they have come to stay, they behave in the same way in South Viet-Nam with more impudence and with no thought for the future.

They look formidable with their air Armada, they lavishly spend their dollars, they bring here their crack generals and troops, but they are constantly haunted by defeat and death. Their despair can be seen in such acts of senseless barbarity as target practice on Vietnamese buffalo boys.

Though they are not yet in a position to plunder our mineral resources and our crops, and set up safe military bases, they have had to pay blood debts for their cruelty. They fall into craters dug by their own bombs, on shelters which they have flushed with gas, in gardens stripped of all leaves, on the banks of our green canals...

I know why the deeper I go into a landscape of desolation and ruin, the more familiar the sounds which conjure up memories within me. A grove of coconut palms on some bank of a canal is devastated by bombs. But green groves of coconut palms and fertile banks of canals are enshrined in our memory. These images cannot fade away, they have lived with us for thousands of years, they are our flesh and our blood.

Good-bye, dear canal of my native village, you who have instilled in me your own invincible strength! I had the same feeling—as when a child, I had bathed in your fresh water, lulled by some song from a familiar garden. Somewhere, the voice of love, of confidence and pride is rising in the air.

I slung my rifle over my shoulder and started off.

NGUYEN THI

THE ONLY PATH

I asked him: "Your father?"
– "They shot him."

I asked him: "Your mother?"
– "They stuck her."
I asked him: "Your wife?"

– "Bombed to pulp,
With our baby in her womb."

I asked him: "Your house?"
– "They set fire to it."

I asked him: "Your village?"
– "Devastated and desolate,
Bereft of its inhabitants
Herded in strategic hamlets."

I asked him: "Whither?"
Then he dried his tears
And burst out laughing:
– "The only path to take,
That of my whole people:
Wipe out the foe."

LE TAN LOI

FOR HANOI
These verses of mine

During a night march in the thick jungle,
Suddenly in the men the hearts stopped throbbing:
The alien foe's bombs
Had struck
At Hanoi,
the heart of hearts!
An earth-shaking shout rang,
Hark ye,
Fiendish aggressor!
You hurt our heart and aimed to sever our entrails.

The men quickened their steps under the sky and clouds,
Their minds full of the resonances of a known verse,
To whose rhythm each of their paces kept time,
"Since I girded on my sword to fight for the land,
My heart has been grieved over the ten-century old Thang Long."*
Oh Hanoi! Are you aware that for long nights
The men listen to various exhortations
From the Fatherland, from the past, from the future and from everything,
From the lilting voice of the loving mother in the home village,
From the landscape, from the cycles of the seasons and of the days and nights.

I've never been to Hanoi
But I was born on the day when Hanoi
*And Ba Dinh Square ** were seas of red flags*
Towered above by Uncle's hoary head.
I've since heard the tearful words and laughs of mother
Mother who bred me a fighter against the enemy.

I've never visited the home of our progenitors,
But that line has been stirring my flesh
And I love Hanoi as a fond and dedicated mother.
And I know well the Red River's drass is embroidered with reddish wavy designs,
The Restored Sword Lake is a real basket of flowers,
Its temple a majestic dragon,
I seem to hear songs mounting from the streets
And the rustle of the lines of trees which bloom all the year round,
Leaning out and mirroring their gracility in the parks' lakes,
And to see newly erected tall structures and factories.
The sky above my head extends to Hanoi,
The ground under my feet stretches to the capital,
And my soul belongs to Hanoi, our heart!

Heroic Hanoi!
Who, in the steps of our ancestors, has been making history,
Hanoi who devastatingly charged the foe,
And blasted shy pirates to pieces
And drowned them in the Red River's waters,
For the Restored Sword Lake to reflect a serene shy.
The tidings came as a thunder-clap,
The men turned their tense heads northwards, straining their ears to hear
Hanoi's call
"Comrades! Fix your bayonets on!"

I've never seen our forebears' birth place
And have been dreaming of Hanoi
Where I'll bring a handful of this crucified earth
To put it on the Tortoise Tower with this pious thought:
"This is earth of our earth from the South,"
I'll stroll between the [illegible] cool trees
On the road of our forefathers [illegible]
"Thang Long, Dong Do [illegible] my love!"

NAM HA

* Ancient names of Hanoi.

** Where the DRVN independence was proclaimed by President Ho Chi Minh on September 2, 1945.

Major Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of the Cuban Republic among SVN PLAF fighters attending the Zafra in 1970

To Cuba

Cuba! Cuba!
Name with an endearing ring like home,
Let any wind blowing to South America,
Be the messenger of my love...

Cuba! Oh Cuba!
Though I never met you,
There is an "Ap Bac"* village in your land,
There is a "Giron" unit in our army.
You've become the Iron Island of the Atlantic
While we've grown into the Brass Fort of the Pacific:
Two guns trained on the same foe,
Two lands half the earth apart in the same fighting trench.

Cuba!
I utter the name of the home of heroism
Green with limitless sugarcane fields,
Sweet with smoke from sugar mills.
My heart beating to the rhythm of your paces,
I enter Moncada camp with a name like a thunder-clap,
Climb onboard the Granma on the marshes,
Head for Giron beach guided by the buffalo bells,
Tears welling up in my eyes on hearing you sing
A hymn to your victorious revolution.

Cuba your home land,
A glowing ball of fire in the middle of the Ocean,
A beacon for ships,
A challenge to the White House,
Cuba has carried the day,
Oh martyred South America!...

Waves clap their hands around the tiny islet,
The seas exult with dances and songs...
In South Viet Nam,
I turn my gaze to a blazing horizon,
To Havana resplendent with multi-coloured lights,
With the two intertwined fluttering flags
Of South Viet Nam and Cuba,
The high flying standards of triumph!
The two nations breathe in unison,
March in step and stand together in the firing line,
Share the same faith in our victory over the Yankee foe,
Our twain strength is twofold powerful!

Oh Cuba!
An island half the world away,
Who fight with your fourteen million South Vietnamese kindred for their glory,
Your heart brimming with love for Ca Mau cape.
South Viet Nam greeted your victory
With the Bien Hoa*, Phu Tuc*, Go Dau* feats,
Where each bullet cut down two US troops
And brought closer both valiant nations...

Cuba! Cuba!
Your name sounds sweet like that of home,
Let any wind blowing to South America,
Carry my love to Cuba!

NGUYEN BA

* *Names of big battles won by South Vietnamese patriots against the US and its agents.*

To the Tranh River

O Tranh River, O Tranh River!
Again I feel lonely for you!

Last night like a flowing stream of moonlight,
You flooded my dream with blue.
This morning in the coolness of my mother's home river
I think of your sun-soaked shores.
Suddenly the wind rises, suffused
With the longing for you like for a sweetheart's smile.

You haunt my sleepless nights
And each step of mine white with the road's dust.
I seem to hear the "khac kho" bird chirping,*
Admonishing me since I was only a young lad:
"Of hardships and privations never be afraid,
Even when far off from your woods and mountains."

How can I forget those days of darkness,
The flight into the jungle from an enemy sweep,
The spring water sweeter than mother's milk,
Which we sucked drop by drop.

The liana bridge swinging in the air,
The midday rain, the afternoon sun,
The butterfly startled by gunshots
Flapping its wings after me,
The cool stone in a branch's shade
Where we had our evening meal and washed our faces,
Wrung our handkerchiefs to wipe our foreheads anew
And packs secure on our backs we started
climbing the cloud-wrapped pass with nimble steps.

Though B52's and other jets
Have churned up and blackened your shores,
From the milpas' red earth buds are sprouting up,
From the razed bamboos, shoots are springing up.
That path often beaten by my steps
Now must be bristling with spike-traps.
This year have you distilled some "dot" spirit,
And do think of me when drinking it evenings?
Are the night classes well attended?
When are you going to change your condition?
Have the bees been hurt by the chemicals,
And have you got much honey this year?

I hear the kaingins are growing lush this season.
Expect me, dear river, for the harvest home.
I'll sing with you, and with you shall pick
Some tender maize cobs to roast them on glowing embers.
I'll leave forests and mountains for mother's village.
My feet bathing in the water in the shade of the boat.

Suddenly a giggle will spurt out
Like yours with a familiar ring.
I'll lift up my eyes and see only a girl guerilla
On the look-out on the shore with her rifle firm in hand.
I'll think she is mounting guard over you, oh Tranh River,
In the breeze fragrant with the cinnamon bloom.

1967
HAI LE

* *Whose cry sounds like the Vietnamese "khac kho" (austerity, stamina).*

South Viet Nam

GREAT VITALITY AND

A wonder has been in the making in South Viet Nam: the formation and continual growth over the last ten years of the liberated zone which covers the four-fifths of South Viet Nam's area with three-quarters of its total population, stretching from the Ben Hai River to the Ca Mau Cape. It "provides the people and armed forces of South Viet Nam with a strong posture to prevail over the enemy everywhere. It has seen the emergence of the revolutionary power which is truly representative of the people's legitimate interests and aspirations, as well as the uninterrupted development of various branches of activity: production, culture, education, information, medical service, etc." (1)

The construction, consolidation and development of the liberated zone is a fundamental and urgent task of the revolution. On the other hand, its radiating influence and considerable successes in the midst of a gruelling war constitutes a great victory of the South Vietnamese people and armed forces in their anti-US resistance for national salvation, since the birth of the National Front for Liberation.

"To build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam" is a deep aspiration of the South Vietnamese people, and the political target of the NFL (founded in December 1960) mentioned in its Political Programme. This battle-cry has quickly rallied the majority of the people from towns to countryside and fired them into an absolute struggle to wrest power for the people and to set up a revolutionary administration.

From 1960 to 1965, while the US-puppet ruling apparatus was disintegrating, in the rural areas a new-type administration started functioning under the guidance of NFL Committees at grass roots level. It took the form of People's Self-Management Committees which discharged part of the main duty of state power: repression against counter-revolutionary elements and puppet authorities, the people's welfare, application of a number of policies of the NFL such as distribution of land to the tillers, realization of national unity, organization of production, development of culture, education, health service, etc.

In 1966, the urban people's movement, particularly the students', Buddhists' and workers', which gained momentum, dealt a stunning blow at the prestige of the puppet rule. The ebullient and continual actions of the guerillas, both within and without the towns and cities, made it possible for the revolutionary masses to cut breaches in the puppet power, for instance in burning "check cards" in many wards, in liquidating cruel thugs at the grass-roots, or in setting up self-management organs of the people right in enemy-held areas.

In the countryside and highlands, as a result of the setbacks inflicted by the liberation armed forces on the first dry-season counter-offensive of the 200,000 US expeditionary troops, the puppet administrative system fell by big chunks and strategic hamlets were pulled down by the thousands. The network of People's Self-Management Committees was enlarged, consolidated and instituted even in the outskirts of the cities.

In 1967, the 2nd dry-season counter-offensive of the 400,000 US expeditionary troops came to a flop, which accelerated the collapse of the puppet power in the countryside. Summer-Autumn 1967 witnessed the 2nd wave of concerted uprisings of the people in Long An, My Tho, Ben Tre, Quang Tri, Thua Thien provinces, and along Road No 1 and other strategic arteries combined with repeated surprise attacks against towns, urban centres and positions of the US-puppets all over South Viet Nam, which was indeed a rehearsal of the forthcoming 1968 wave of simultaneous uprisings and attacks. The latter constituted a decisive factor in the establishment of a system of revolutionary power encompassing all South Viet Nam. The whole coercive and repressive machinery of the enemy in the countryside virtually disappeared and puppet "pacification" teams were swept away in many areas. In such a stirring atmosphere, the people enthusiastically took part in elections to People's Councils and Liberation People's Committees from village up to provincial levels. Revolutionary People's Committees have been thus set up in 1,500 villages (out of 2,500 villages for all South Viet Nam), 182 districts, 44 provinces and 6 towns and cities, namely Saigon, Hue, Da Nang, Can Tho, My Tho, Da Lat.

SVNR PRG Culture Minister Luu Huu Phuoc congratulating students of Dance and Song School

Land to the tillers

South Viet Nam's revolutionary power founded under the leadership of the NFL is one genuinely "of the people, by the people and for the people." It is composed of true representatives of all segments of the people: workers, peasants, youths, women, intellectuals, national capitalists, democratic personalities, members of ethnical minorities, of various religions and political tendencies. It has been tempered in the crucible of combat to outweigh the puppet administration.

In the first days of June 1969, somewhere, in the liberated zone, the People's Representatives' Congress was convened and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam chosen. The Assembly was attended by outstanding representatives of the National Front for Liberation, the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces, various political parties, mass organizations, nationalities, religious and patriotic personalities, coming from the Highlands, the delta and the cities—an authentic cross section of the southern people.

The line of resistance to US aggression for national salvation charted by the Congress was indicative of the whole South Vietnamese people's and armed forces' resolve to defeat the US aggressors and their lackeys, build a truly free, democratic, republican regime and achieve at all costs the reunification of Viet Nam. The gathering passed a 12-point Programme of Action on the basis of which the Provisional Revolutionary Government and administrative authorities at various levels have been bringing into full play the leading role they have inherited from the NFL in all fields of activity, both internal and external.

"Land to the tiller" is a necessity of prime importance in an agricultural country whose population is mainly made up of peasants. It is one of the fundamental policies of the NFL and the PRG. These have allotted to the peasants 2 out of South Viet Nam's 3,5 million hectares, which is almost all the arable land in the liberated zone. The peasants have been encouraged by the NFL and PRG to reclaim more than 200,000 hectares, remove 4 million cubic metres of earth in digging irrigation works, thus transforming 80,000 hectares of one-crop ricefields into two crop ones, and erect 145,000 cubic metres of dams to check the advance of sea water so as to increase the area under cultivation. "The peasants' right to land ownership has been enforced in the main. Generally speaking, labouring peasants in the liberated zone have got enough land, buffaloes and oxen, food and money — which is a far cry from their destitution under the US-puppet yoke. The living conditions and purchasing power of each peasant household have upped by 100—300% even though a life-and-death struggle is still being waged against the enemy" (2). The picture of the liberated zone is one of "villages and hamlets free from robbers and thieves, where doors are left open and lost things are all returned to their owners." (2)

Young men enthusiastically enlist in the army or guerilla, while women keep up a persistent political battle. For the sake of increased production, the Association of Peasants for Liberation lead the peasants in forming mutual-aid teams, doing field work—ploughing and transplanting rice, harvesting—, building houses, digging trenches and shelters, and combat positions right in their homes, in the fields or on roadsides, growing more trees for timber and fruit, reshaping the terrain, erecting "combat" and "Liberation" villages, resolutely fighting back enemy raids, defending their crops and livestocks, meeting in time all the requirements of daily life and of the resistance against aggression.

TEN PRODIGIOUS YEARS...

(Continued from page 3)

The enemy's position is on the downgrade. The path they are treading is strewn with thorns and pitfalls. It has brought them failures and will certainly lead them to complete fiasco.

Glory to the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation! Its ten years have been full of feats of arms. Ten years of struggle for the defence of the Fatherland. Ten years full of youthful flush and pregnant developments.

Thanks to the Fatherland which has instilled stamina into our people. Thanks to our friends the world over who have contributed to enhance this stamina. Thanks to the thirty-one millions of our fellow-countrymen and, together with them, the hundreds of millions of our friends around the globe who are looking forward to 10th founding anniversary commemorations of the National Front for Liberation.

SOUTH VIET NAM

Liberated Zone

SIGNAL SUCCESSES

Every year, after harvest, each province and each zone convenes its own conference to sum up the experience gathered in production and commend those localities and individuals credited with outstanding achievements. An emulation movement for an anti-US harvest is regularly launched to bring in good crops.

The South Viet Nam NFL has paid due attention to the development of culture and education. It has opened more than 7,000 schools of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd degrees with a unified curriculum. 17 ethnical minorities of the High Plateaux have had their own script. Adult complementary education has been given a strong impetus especially among civil servants, armymen and young volunteers. The training of teachers and publication of textbooks are aimed at raising the level of both teachers and pupils. Remarkable has been the maintenance and further expansion of educational establishments in the conditions of war: from 1962 to 1965, the number of teachers in the liberated zone grew sevenfold, and 300 text books of various kinds totalling 300,000 copies were supplied to the remotest villages.

Extraordinary progress has been made by the health service of the free zone in the last ten years. A medical network has been set up from the central administration, down to hamlet and village levels, reaching each unit of the armed forces and each team of young volunteers. Each province has its own physician, three-fourths of districts have each their own assistant physician. Each village has from 10 to 30 medical workers including nurses, midwives, first-aiders.

There are in South Viet Nam 6 schools for assistant physicians and one medical college for physicians. Up to February 1970, the Nam Bo (ex-Cochinchina) School for Assistant Physicians alone graduated 2,000 medical workers in 4 batches.

The health service of the liberated zone has endeavoured to implant new habits among the population. No epidemic has been recorded thanks to regular vaccinations. The people are also taught how to fight against the effects of enemy sprayings of toxic chemicals. The welfare of mothers and babies has received special attention from the NFL Medical Service and the Health Ministry of the PRG.

On the battlefront, as a rule all operations are done by physicians within twelve hours after the fighting, thus reducing the mortality rate. Medicines of general use and even a number of specialities the production of which requires a high degree of accuracy have been turned out on the spot with the help of the people. Due attention is paid to combining therapeutical methods of the West and the East. Lessons of experience of medicine in the service of the resistance are regularly drawn, and a periodical entitled *Medicine* has been published with a view to raising the professional standard of medical workers.

and Literature has also set up a sub-committee for theoretical criticism with a view to laying a theoretical basis for revolutionary works in literature. What permeates the creations of liberation arts and literature is a sense of revolutionary optimism. Though the South Vietnamese have been undergoing the most excruciating sufferings, they do not squirm under these. To be always optimistic is a special feature of all South Vietnamese patriots who are also full of confidence in their final victory. Liberation arts and literature are called upon to exalt this militant optimism, and have thus become an effective weapon of South Viet Nam's revolution.

Giai Phong (Liberation) *Publishing House* was 7 years old in January 1970. In its seven years of existence, it has put out over 40 kinds of books dealing with culture and education. It has also printed a series of books on "Good people, good deeds."

There are in all 40 newspapers, periodicals and magazines at the central administration level. The Information Commission under the Central Committee of the NFL has been publishing *South Viet Nam in Struggle* in English and French. In the various zones and provinces, there are local newspapers, magazines or news bulletins.

The *Giai Phong Agency* has been set up in the liberated areas by the NFL and PRG with an organization running from the central administration down to the provinces and to localities of special importance. It issues a daily bulletin in English. Information Bureaux of the NFL and PRG and *Giai Phong Agency* cor-

above
Carrying supplies to the front

Tay Nguyen people acclaiming the formation of the PRG

respondents have been installed in socialist countries and a number of other countries entertaining diplomatic relations with free South Viet Nam. *Radio-Liberation* broadcasts are regularly listened to by the people in the free, as well as the enemy-occupied zones. The same radio also brings out news bulletins in English, French, Khmer and Chinese.

From 1965 up to now, *Liberation Film Studio* has produced more than 40 films of various kinds, presenting fighting South Viet Nam to spectators all over the world. Some of those films have won international rewards at cinema festivals abroad: *Duong ra phia truoc* (The Road forward), *Nghe thuat vi tuoi tho* (Arts and Youth).

Song and dance ensembles have become a first-order requirement of the people in the liberated zone. Apart from of the central administration and the army, there are many others belonging to the zones, provinces, and even to a number of districts or villages. After days and nights of wearisome march, liberation fighters and civilian carriers can enjoy song and dance performances, sometimes next to the frontline or in revolutionary bases behind enemy lines. Taking advantage of ceasefires ordered by the NFL and PRG on special occasions and more especially during the traditional Lunar Year Festival, the townsfolk living in enemy-held areas usually cross over to the free zone to attend shows they most appreciate.

***

In the last ten years, under the leadership of the NFL and the SVNR PRG, the South Vietnamese people's righteous fight has furthermore been stimulated by concrete achievements. It now possesses a strong rear-base — the liberated zone. The more consolidated and expanded the latter becomes, the more reliable prop and source of encouragement it constitutes for the frontline and at the same time a stirring call on the enemy-controlled areas to rise up and fight the Yankees and their lackeys.

The US aggressors have been resorting, in the last ten years, to all manœuvres to "pacify" the rural areas of South Viet Nam in the hope of securing a foothold for their stooge administration. But the South Vietnamese people and armed forces have resolutely fought back and dealt punishing blows on them, to defend themselves and their revolutionary bases. Inch by inch, they have regained control over the areas formerly held by the enemy.

The liberated zone with its radiating prestige and pervading influence, occupies a key position of strategic importance in the making of the victory of South Viet Nam's revolution. This is one of the most considerable successes of the South Vietnamese in the course of their 10 year-long struggle under the banner of the NFL.

Khanh Kim
and Minh Phuong

(1) *from the Political Report to the South Viet Nam People's Representatives' Congress presented by Nguyen Huu Tho, Chairman of the Presidium of the NFL Central Committee (June 6, 1969).*

(2) *from Part V of the document entitled "Five years of struggle of the entire people against US aggression for national salvation, five years of heroic combat and glorious successes" published on Dec. 20, 1965 by the NFL Central Committee.*

Trung An VILLAGE REVISITED

To restore and develop agricultural production. To improve cultivation, animal husbandry, fish-rearing and forestry.

The State will encourage the peasants to unite and help one another boost production: grant them loans at low interest rates for the purchase of buffaloes, oxes, farm implements, agricultural machines, seeds, fertilizers, etc: help them develop irrigation works and apply advanced agricultural techniques.

To guarantee outlets for agricultural products.

(Political Program of the SVN NFL)

THE green motor-boat glided on the Nam Ngan canal. In the breeze rippled the rice stems laden with grains. Groups of reapers, their rifles slung across their shoulders, dexterously harvested the golden fields. On the branches of the canal, submachinegun carrying sturdy girls in waterlily-shaped hats merrily chatted while driving home their motor-boats filled with paddy. Arrived at the portion of the stream whose shores were lined with coconut trees at the entrance of Trung An village, our craft stopped to land the messenger and myself then rapidly vanished into the sky-line beyond the golden seas of ripe rice.

Standing on the landing-stage I looked around. This familiar corner of the Plain of Reeds had changed a lot after eight years of absence. Though in the "free-shooting" zone of the US-puppets, it now had more areca, coconut and bamboo trees, a background into which the houses and the fields seemed to merge. Suddenly a report of submachinegun rang out, scaring off a group of blackbirds hopping on a tree in front of me. But it was only a test shot by the arms repairers, the messenger who had contacted the villagers eventually told me. We crossed many solid individual defence works and a hedge of hibiscus then went into the house of Uncle Sau, Chairman of the Local Liberation Front. After warm greetings, the host gladly informed us that his two eldest sons in the army had just been cited valiant fighters.

Soon several cadres of the Front, of the Revolutionary People's Committee, of various branches and organizations turned up to check the preparations for the commemoration of the tenth founding anniversary of the village Front. Through the reports of Uncle Sau and of Mrs Hoa, head of the local Administration, I got a glimpse of the villagers' achievements:

1. A guerilla company fully equipped had been set up and had fought over 190 engagements, inflicted over 900 enemy casualties, downed 2 helicopters and captured a patrol-boat. Not only had it protected the village but also had mounted co-ordinated actions with the regular and the regional forces in operations launched in the province. A workshop had been moreover opened to repair arms and agricultural implements.

2. 1,200 youths of both sexes had enlisted in the regular army and the regional forces. The remainder had been active in the guerilla and other occupations.

3. An infirmary was established six years ago, headed by an assistant doctor, and 10 first-aid stations had been set up, each in one hamlet, to promptly dealt with war time diseases.

4. A culture centre, a museum, an amateur dance and song ensemble and ten similar groups had been formed.

5. The village had built a primary and a junior high school for all school-age children.

6. 18 km of canal had been dugs, about 20,000 fruit and lumber tree planted, and 6,000 combat and shelter trenches erected.

7. Over the last five years, all the fields had been put under cultivation and their yield increase from 5 to 7 tons a hectare. Contributions to the liberation funds had been paid up.

8. Most of the villagers (about 20,000) were members of the Front: they were of one mind and determined to carry out all policies of the Front and the Administration. Those who collaborated with the enemy had successively returned to the people. Wicked thugs had been punished. An atmosphere of solidarity in combat and production prevailed.

After an hour's discussions those accomplishments were given recognition and would be submitted to the people for endorsement.

A village repair workshop

Keeping watch on crops

The next day, I went with Uncle Sau and visited Trung An elementary school. Nestled in a grove of coconut trees on a canal bank, it comprised four classes accommodated in four roomy leaf-covered houses with 200 pupils. Around the school were many air raid shelters bordered with flower-beds.

The pupils of the 7th form were learning lines from Luc Van Tien, the masterpiece of South Viet Nam's classical poet Nguyen Dinh Chieu, those of the 6th form geometry, and those of the 5th form were drawing (themes: a lotus flower and a bamboo grove). The headmaster showed us a pond in which the teachers reared fish. When we saw the files of carps and anabases swimming among duckweed, the rows of lettuce and the fruit-laden orange trees around the pond, we were far from thinking that it had been a crater cut by US bombs which had also left behind scars on the coconut trees and a 1,000-pounders' shell "made in USA" which now did the duty of the school bell.

We then took a look at the arms-repair workshop. There, manager Tam told us that it had been set up as far back as the day of "concerted uprisings." Its first products were "mantis-shaped guns," a kind of rudimentary weapons. The workshop also repaired US rifles or submachineguns more or less damaged in action. These last years, it had been mainly "reviving" US dud shells and steel pellet bombs for the guerillas' use in their attacks against enemy raids, tanks, posts of reinforcement columns. Besides, it also set right agricultural implements.

A full moon lit up the canal and the village. Our pirogue glided among the motor-boats and sampans in which people went fishing or were bringing their paddy home. From afar came the drum beats of children rehearsing a performance. Looking toward the coconut trees lining a nearby highway dotted with defence works, I saw a marching armed detachment. Uncle Sau glanced at his watch and said, "From now until morning the guerillas are on the look-out around the village, part of them to protect the crops and part of them to drill."

Our pirogue continued to skim on the canal in the moonlight. From a house resounded a transistor radio broadcasting fresh military successes ...

November 1970

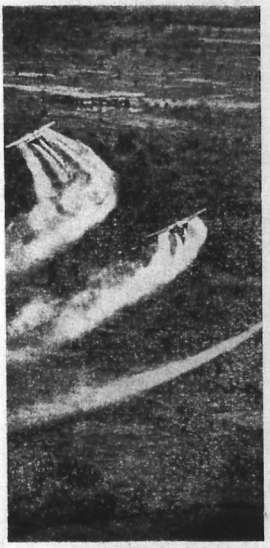
M P

South Viet Nam in Struggle
to become NFL mouthpiece

As an organ of the NFL Information Commission, **SOUTH VIET NAM IN STRUGGLE** has the honour to inform its readers that by a decision of the NFL CC it will become as from December 20, 1970 the official mouthpiece of the NFL (Foreign Section) directly placed under its Central Committee.

The decision was taken by the Presidium after hearing the report of our Editor-in-Chief on the magazine's activity and impact abroad. **SOUTH VIET NAM IN STRUGGLE** is read in 126 countries in the world (17 in Asia, 40 in Africa, 28 in America, 12 in the Mid-East, 27 in Europe and 2 in Oceania).

LET US KEEP OUR HOMELAND FOR EVER GREEN



US spraying of toxic chemicals

IN the dark-green forests of the Western Plateaux, spring seemed to be of an irresistible renewing power. The trees hit by US toxic chemicals began putting forth young shoots. Countless sprouts had come out from the red soil. The streams were babbling to the accompaniment of the *to-rung* (native musical instrument) and the pestles of the hard-working Stra girls...

I was deep in communion with this impulse of nature when I heard a noise behind me. A group of blue-necked and yellow-feathered birds were flying up. A child of about ten years appeared behind a cluster of trees. She wore a liberation fighter hat and a leafy camouflage sprinkled with dew over a baggy armyman jacket which hid her loincloth and showed only a pair of brown legs. She was playing a folk-song on her flute:

"O ko-tia birds, o phi birds,
The wise birds remember the forests
But do not destroy the crops like the Americans
O ko-tia birds, o phi birds
Sing in tune with the to-rung..."

"Where are you going?," I asked.

The girl stared at me then calmly answered: "To dig *pom-chu* tubercles. Visiting any village?"

"I am on a special assignment. Do you know where the Americans have sprayed toxic chemicals?"

The child turned pale, her eye lids battering: "Mother and baby brother are dead!". Then she told me her sad story.

That day she went to the forest to dig bamboo shoots. Her mother and her baby brother were at home when US planes came and dumped orange powder on the village. Her tea garden was burnt. The leaves of the areca-trees withered. The bamboo groves collapsed. The fields were devastated.

"Under the house on stilts," she went on, "the swine and her piglets were killed. I rushed upstairs but mother and baby brother had passed away. I cried bitterly and called the villagers for help.

— The Americans are too cruel! I'll hit them hard if I ever come across them!"

I grasped her hands and thought of the places I had visited: the forests of coconut-trees in Binh Dinh and Ben Tre I could cross without a hat on, the forests of *duoc trees* in Nam Can, the forests of *Mam, Su, Vet* along the Saigon River, the vast forests of eucalyptus in U Minh... Now hundreds of thousands of hectares of fields and gardens had been doused with toxics and laid waste...

The American aggressors and the traitors are afraid of everything in this heroic country. They dread the liberation fighters, the women guerillas, even an old person, a child. They fear bees, ants, even the green of the forests, the fields.

I suddenly recalled a news item of *AP* on April 16, 1970: So far 33 million gallons (150 million litres) of 2,4,5-T have been used in South Viet Nam in 1969 over 1.2 million acres (480,000 hectares).

To herd the population and carry out an accelerated pacification, the enemy had destroyed tens of thousands of hectares of fields.

On these Western Plateaux, their Dakotas had sprayed toxics on every field. However, the indomitable population had not remained with folded arms.

Our plane-hunters had compelled them to fly high and waste their powder on our forests. The population had planted many crops and farmed many fields. The enemy had forced them to abandon the one-crop system.

"The Revolution needs much rice to fight the Americans but the latter dump toxics only once every season," the population then told one another to put many fields under rice and cassava. "The Revolution is everywhere. How can they dump toxics on the entire Western Plateaux?"

It was already evening when I arrived at village X. There I ran into composer Phan Ngoc and his art troupe.

"What material are you after, newsman?", he asked.

"I am on a special mission."

"What story are you writing?"

"An article entitled: "Let us keep our homeland for ever green."

"It comes in the nick of time!"

Phan Ngoc then sang for me several songs he had composed when visiting the villages hit by US toxic chemicals.

That night, the population assembled in the communal house to attend a performance. After the *Katu, Rong Chieng* dances on the stage, the villagers also rose to their feet and danced.

When Phan Ngoc appeared with a violin, a pianist and a singer, everybody kept quiet. Only the sputter of *xanu* torches was heard:

"My heart is filled with wrath,
The sea and the forests
are boiling with indignation.
The vegetation withers because of the poison.
The South Viet Nam mothers are torn with pain,
Carrying their babies in their arms..."

TD's song was followed by a stirring choir:

"The Americans spray toxic chemicals,
O fellow-countrymen!
Let us rise up and drive them
out of this land
Hiroshima! That devastated place
and South Viet Nam are resounding with protest
Millions upon millions
Let us stay the beasts' hands
The Americans are afraid
Let us keep our homeland for ever green!

Right, the Americans are afraid. They are facing their doom. The whole village chanted in unison.

The next morning, I followed the art troupe and the villagers to cut cassava-trees ruined by the toxic chemicals to plant *pom-chu*. This is a kind which resists sun, rain, poison better than any other, and keeps on giving delicious tubercles. The green of the *pom-chu* continues to adorn the Western Plateaux when US chemical warfare is raging. It contributes to make our beloved Viet Nam green all the year round.

Western Plateaux, November 1970

H' NHUNG

TEN YEARS OF UNITY AND STRUGGLE

(Continued from page 7)

such policies of the NFL as distributing land, bringing about national unity, organizing production, developing culture and education, etc. In the years 1966, 1967, the pitiful failures of the two strategic counter-offensives of the Americans and their puppets brought about decisive factors for the creation of a system of revolutionary power: almost the whole of the repressive apparatus of the Americans and the puppets in the rural areas disintegrated, and in many places the "pacification" teams were wiped out. In a seething atmosphere of repeated victories, especially following the Tet 1968 offensives and concerted uprisings, the people enthusiastically went to the polls to elect

Saigon workers demand better living conditions and an end to US aggression.

Revolutionary People's Committees and Liberation People's Committees at all levels. At present, liberation people's committees have been set up in 1,500 villages out of a total of 2,500, in 182 districts, 44 provinces and six cities: Saigon, Hue, Da Nang, Can Tho, My Tho, Da Lat.

In June 1969, in an atmosphere of victory for the resistance, an All-South Viet Nam National Congress was convened on the initiative of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces, to decide on the line of resistance to American aggression, for national salvation, and on the setting up of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. The birth of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) has completed the system of revolutionary power from the central to the local level. The line for resistance passed by the Congress expressed the determination of the people and armed forces of South Viet Nam to defeat the American aggressors and build a republican regime with genuine freedom and democracy. With a 12-point programme of action, the PRG and organs of revolutionary power at all levels have continued to develop the leading role and functions entrusted to them by the NFL, concerning State affairs, both internal and external, and the life of the people.

Under the glorious banner of the NFL, the life of the people in South Viet Nam has undergone many great and fundamental changes in all fields. The peasants have wrested back from the hands of the American imperialists and their flunkeys two million hectares of land. The peasants' fundamental interests in the liberated zones have been fundamentally satisfied. Their living standards and purchasing power have increased by 100-300% in spite of the fierce struggle they still have to carry on against the enemy.

In the economic field, under the leadership of the NFL, our people have also recorded many great achievements in production. They have developed to the full their spirit of self-reliance, striven to meet their own needs, overcome all difficulties and hardships, triumphed over the enemy and natural calamities, checked the former's schemes of sabotage and genocidal attempts by toxic chemicals, artillery and air bombing, opposed his efforts at encirclement and blockade, and foiled all his wicked economic and financial designs.

The NFL pays the greatest attention to building up and developing the new culture and education. At present, in the liberated zones, over 7,000 schools — primary and secondary — are dispensing education according to a unified curriculum. Seventeen national minorities living in the Tay Nguyen highlands now have their own scripts. Complementary education ceaselessly develops. A great impetus has been given to popular education.

Over the past ten years, health work has also made giant strides in the liberated zones. A network of popular health services has been set up. At present, all provinces are provided with doctors; three-fourths of the districts have assistant doctors, all the villages have nurses and midwives, as well as first-aid activists. Art and literature hold an important position in the spiritual life in the liberated zones. Thousands of works belonging to various genres have been introduced to readers at home and abroad. Liberation studios have turned out timely newsreels warmly welcomed by spectators at home and abroad. Patriotic and democratic press publications have multiplied and serve the people efficiently in the struggle against the enemy on the front of ideology and public opinion.

Over the past ten years, in the light of the Political Programme of the NFL, the liberated zones have been ever more consolidated and broadened, creating a firm combat posture for our people and armed forces everywhere. Their unceasing growth has provided our people's resistance with practical strength, strong support and direct rear areas. They are a source of pride and encouragement for the combatants at the front who are pushing forward to fight the enemy. They hold out a strong appeal for the people living in areas still under enemy control, urging them to stand up against the Americans and their puppets. Their creation is one of the tremendous achievements recorded by our people and armed forces under the glorious banner of the NFL during the past ten years.

VI

THE American imperialists and their puppets, the traitors, are bent upon dividing our country into two zones, North and South. But in the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, national unity and the kith-and-kin feelings between North and South have powerfully developed. The South Vietnamese people, under the leadership of the NFL, feel closer than ever to their brothers and sisters of the North; their thoughts are constantly turned to the North, to our venerated and beloved President Ho Chi Minh, just as the eyes of sea-farers are turned to the North Star. The people of South Viet Nam and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation feel eternal regret and gratitude for President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of our nation, who spent great efforts fostering national unity, closely followed every progress made by the people and armed forces of the South, gave them strong encouragement and warmly praised every one of their successes, and infused them with the strength and confidence which have brought about miraculous achievements without precedent in history. Under his leadership, the North night and day thought of the South and gave it wholehearted support. The North has spared no effort, no sacrifice, for the South to triumph over the enemy. It truly deserves to be called the great rear area, the holy base of the revolution to liberate the South.

In the years of the war of destruction waged by the American imperialists against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the people of North Viet Nam and the heroic Viet Nam People's Army fought with the greatest valour and recorded brilliant feats of arms which completely shattered the prestige of the USAF. Their struggle coupled with the exploits achieved at the great fighting front has brought about co-ordination and emulation between the people and armed forces of the two zones, under the watchword: "Liberate the South, defend the North, reunify the country!"

The exploits achieved by the people and armed forces of the North in defeating the American aggressors' war of destruction, together with their achievements in building up the socialist North, constitute a source of powerful encouragement for the people and armed forces of the South determined to fight and defeat the enemy.

It is clear that national solidarity is stronger than ever and has brought about more splendid achievements than ever, both in the front and at the rear, thus ceaselessly consolidating national unity between North and South. This is a victory with the deepest significance for the people of South Viet Nam, the NFL, and the entire Vietnamese people.

VII

THE South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation stands for a foreign policy of peace and neutrality, the consolidation of neighbourly relations with Cambodia and Laos, all-out support for the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the establishment of diplomatic relations with all countries on the basis of respect for our people's independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity, and acceptance of aid from all countries without any political conditions attached.

Over the past ten years, the NFL has consistently advocated the above-mentioned foreign policy of peace and neutrality and has won broad and strong sympathy and support from the people of many countries in the world. The NFL and the PRG of the SVNR have been recognized by 50 countries, of which 25 have established diplomatic relations with the SVNR PRG.

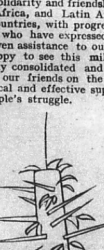
The people of South Viet Nam and the NFL are deeply aware that our resistance to American aggression, for national salvation, is part and parcel of the revolutionary cause of the world's people. All our successes cannot be separated from the sympathy and support of the Khmer people under the leadership of Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, of the Lao people under the leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front presided over by Prince Souphanouvong, of the people and governments of the socialist countries, the nationalist countries, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and of the peace and democratic forces all over the world including the people of the United States.

The people of South Viet Nam and the NFL set great store by the militant solidarity and neighbourly relations among the peoples of Indochina. We wholeheartedly thank the brother Khmer people and Lao people for their devoted support to our people's just patriotic struggle. We pledge to respect the independence, sovereignty, neutrality, unity and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia and Laos in its present boundaries.

Solidarity among the peoples of Indochina is an important factor ensuring victory for them. We are glad to see this militant solidarity being ceaselessly consolidated, broadened, and ever more developed.

At present, in face of the extension by the American imperialists of their war of aggression in the whole of Indochina, an Indochinese Peoples' Front has actually taken shape, and the joint declaration issued at the Summit Conference of the Indochinese peoples is the common programme of struggle against American aggression of the three peoples. Solidarity among the Indochinese peoples has been strengthened and increased their fighting power severalfold, paving the way to total victory for their struggle for liberation.

We attach great importance to consolidating and strengthening solidarity and friendship with all countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, with all the socialist countries, with progressive people all over the world who have expressed sympathy and support and given assistance to our people's struggle. We are happy to see this militant solidarity being ceaselessly consolidated and developed. We sincerely thank our friends on the five continents for their practical and effective support and assistance to our people's struggle.



AGAINST AMERICAN AGGRESSION...

The world people's movement of protest against American aggression and of support to our people has ceaselessly developed in ever more varied and more vigorous forms. Not a day passes without seething demonstrations and meetings taking place somewhere in the world to denounce American imperialist aggression and demand that all American and satellite troops be withdrawn from South Viet Nam.

In the United States itself, the popular movement of protest against the US government's war of aggression has rallied people of all walks of life, including members of political circles. This protest movement has grown into a political storm blowing right in the lair of the American aggressors.

In the world today, there has taken shape in practice a world people's front of support to Viet Nam against American aggression, an immense front which is growing ever bigger. This is an event of great significance, a tremendous victory for our people and a shameful failure for the American imperialist aggressors.

It is a great honour and a source of legitimate pride for our people to see our struggle against American aggression so highly praised by our brothers and friends. By our persevering and resolute struggle, we have inflicted repeated setbacks on the American imperialists and exposed them as most barbarous and warlike aggressors, hideous neo-fascists, and the most dangerous foe of mankind. By our valiant struggle, we have laid bare their basic weaknesses and shown that in spite of their cruelty and perfidy, in spite of their abundant military and economic potential, they are far from being invincible if we persist in our resolute and uncompromising struggle, a protracted and arduous struggle in various forms, the highest being armed struggle. Our people's struggle proves that even a country which is not numerous in population and not large in area, provided it is closely united and determined to fight, provided it is guided by a correct political and military line, relies essentially on its own forces and at the same time knows how to gain broad support from the world's people, even such a country can surely and completely defeat a war of aggression by the imperialists, the American imperialists included.

By our persevering and courageous struggle, our people have contributed to the victory of the world's people over the most dangerous foe of mankind: aggressive American imperialism. To fulfil even more brilliantly this lofty internationalist duty, to be worthy of the precious support and assistance given us by our friends on the five continents, we are resolved to hold high the banner of international solidarity and march forward to win even greater victories, so as to bring a worthy contribution to the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress the world over.

Faithful to its foreign policy of peace and neutrality, the NFL has shown constant goodwill in the search for a political settlement to the South Viet Nam problem. In early 1969, it sent a delegation to the Paris conference on Viet Nam and put forward a five-point stand shining with justice to serve as a basis for a peaceful solution to the South Viet Nam problem. In May 1969, the NFL issued a most important document entitled "Essential principles and content of an overall solution to the South Viet Nam problem, in contribution to the restoration of peace in Viet Nam." Following its establishment, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam declared its adoption of the NFL's 10-point overall solution as its stand at the Paris conference, and the NFL delegation became that of the PRG. On September 17, 1970, in face of the Paris conference being deadlocked through the fault of the American imperialists and their agents, the PRG put forward an 8-point proposal which clarified some points of the 10-point overall solution, with a view to helping the Paris conference progress. After nearly 100 sessions, the world can clearly see the correct stand, serious attitude and goodwill of the NFL and the PRG. World public opinion, including American public opinion, highly values and supports the 10-point overall solution put forward by the NFL and PRG, sets great store by the recent 8-point proposal of the PRG, and considers it an important initiative for leading the Paris conference to a correct political settlement for the South Viet Nam problem.

VIII

THE American aggressors have been clearly defeated. They have gone from one setback to another and will surely meet with complete failure. Our people have successively foiled all their aggressive schemes and won repeated victories. We are advancing with firm strides towards complete victory.

The great successes won by the South Vietnamese people over the past ten years are the successes of the correct political and military line of the NFL. The NFL has closely combined revolutionary militancy with the national tradition of dauntlessness, and on the strength of a scientific assessment of the situation in the enemy's camp and in ours, both in each concrete stage and over the whole duration of the struggle, has set patriotic tasks and objectives for the South Vietnamese people. These tasks and objectives answer the fundamental needs and the most urgent aspirations of the South Vietnamese people, and combine in a creative way the two tasks — national independence and democracy — in the conditions of the fight against American neo-colonialism. The NFL has developed to the full the ardent patriotism, deep hatred for the enemy, heroism, intelligence and creativeness of our people and armed forces. The NFL's correct line is the decisive factor, the sure guarantee for our people's resistance.

Our victory springs from the strength of the entire people of South Viet Nam rallied in a broad national united front; it springs from their spirit of undaunted struggle, their determination to suffer death rather than endure slavery, from their resolve to fight and win. Their strength, the secret of their victories, lies in the profound unity and deep feelings between the people of the two zones, the three Indochinese countries, and the support of peace-loving people all over the world, including progressive people in the United States.

Such are the factors accounting for our successes over the past ten years, in which our entire people have closely united in their resistance to American aggression, for national salvation. Over this period of time, by giving leadership to the South Vietnamese people's struggle against the war of aggression of the American imperialists, the most barbarous war in history, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has fulfilled the glorious task entrusted to it by the fatherland and the nation. Under the splendid banner of the NFL, our people have written a fine epic of the time. We are infinitely proud of our struggle, of our fine traditions and glorious history.

With a firm grasp on the factors of victory, armed with unshakable resolve, we are marching forward with firm steps, determined to fulfil brilliantly the task of liberating the South, defending the North, and advancing toward the reunification of the country.

IX

OUR people's struggle is a just struggle for national liberation. We have overcome countless hardships and difficulties and endured innumerable sacrifices in order to wrest back independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. This is the sacred aim of our entire people, the iron resolve of the 31 million Vietnamese from North to South.

By waging a war of aggression in South Viet Nam, the American imperialists have trampled on the sacred national rights of our people and piled up innumerable crimes in our land.

But we are in a mighty posture. The American imperialists are weakening and going downhill. They have suffered pitiful failures not only in South Viet Nam but also in Cambodia and Laos. The Khmer and Lao peoples are dealing them heavy blows which have caused the initial bankruptcy of the so-called Nixon doctrine, in fact the scheme to "use Indochinese to fight Indochinese," to "use Asians to fight Asians."

In spite of their heavy setbacks in Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, in spite of the serious difficulties they have encountered in the United States itself and in the world, the American imperialists have not given up their dark aggressive designs on South Viet Nam and on the whole of Indochina. They are trying to prolong the war of aggression in South Viet Nam by the so-called "Vietnamization" program; they have ceaselessly striven to intensify the "special" war in Laos and the war of aggression in Cambodia.

The schemes and actions of the Americans show that the Nixon administration is leaving no stone unturned to prolong the war of aggression in the hope of maintaining at all costs the neo-colonialist regime in South Viet Nam. But the road followed by the Americans has led them to the present pitiful failure. It is a blind alley, full of contradictions and difficulties. The further the Americans go along this road, the more humiliating their defeat.

The South Vietnamese people, the NFL and the PRG are deeply attached to peace and stand for a peaceful settlement of the South Viet Nam problem. Their stand shines with justice. Their attitude is extremely serious. But if the Nixon administration persists in prolonging the war of aggression in South Viet Nam, the South Vietnamese people will carry on the fight. So long as our immediate objectives, namely independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, are not fulfilled, so long as a single aggressor remains on our beloved soil, the South Vietnamese people will fight on until complete victory.

The situation is evolving in an extremely favourable fashion for our people and armed forces. Time is on our side. We are entering the most intensive phase of our combat. We are determined to develop to the full our posture of strength, our offensive posture on all three fronts — military, political and diplomatic — and to win at all costs ever bigger successes, so as to break the aggressive will of the American imperialists, overthrow the Thieu-Ky-Khiem puppet regime, set up a broad national democratic coalition government, advance towards complete victory and the realization of our sacred objectives: independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and prosperity, and progress towards the peaceful reunification of the country.

The unity and dauntlessness of our people make up an invincible strength. This is one of the most important factors guaranteeing the final victory of our people's great cause. Now as ever, we remain loyal to the policy of great unity. We stand for a broad union of all strata of the people, all nationalities, all religions and all people, irrespective of their political tendency and their past record, provided they approve of peace, independence, neutrality and democracy. The destiny of the country must stand above everything. Our entire people have united. The closer their unity, the more certain our complete victory.

— Long live national solidarity and unity!

— Long live the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the organizer and leader of all victories of the South Vietnamese people!

SOUTH VIET NAM IN STRUGGLE'S EDITOR

On NFL Central Committee order, the PLAF Command has many a time released captured US troops

Anecdotes on universal support

THE HORSESHOE

It was noon. In a dining-room in Bratislava (Czechoslovakia) an American youth handed to a South Vietnamese delegate a big envelope, saying: "Kindly forward this to our friends in South Viet Nam." It contained a letter and a dirty horseshoe which was growing rusty. The letter said:

Dear South Vietnamese young friends, I wish to send you this small keepsake: a horseshoe found after a scuffle with the cops who had set fire to our horsecart. In our anti-war tour in Florida, we visited one university after another, organizing teach-ins, distributing literature and screening films. At a university, we were appearing on a horsecart before the students and local population. Policemen came and we clashed with them: they burnt our vehicle and arrested many of us. Keep this horseshoe: it embodies our iron will in the common struggle of the US and of Viet Nam whose immediate objective is to mobilize and organize the students to free the universities and liberate South Viet Nam...

Tom Garner
Chairman, South Students Organization Committee

AN X-RAY APPARATUS

In Paris, there was a physician who was only interested in research and disliked politics. However at a meeting held by a medical organization, he got the opportunity of talking for half an hour with a Vietnamese colleague who at that time was touring France to exchange views on medical researches. The next morning, he rang up Madeleine Riffaud and said: "I could not sleep a wink last night. I was so upset! I felt ashamed of my ignorance of Viet Nam. As you are a friend of the Vietnamese people, I wish to meet you and get more information."

Madeleine Riffaud then saw the doctor. After talking about Viet Nam, he pointed his finger to a

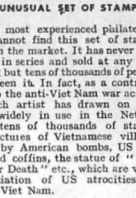
X-Ray apparatus, saying: "Be so kind as to send it to the workers of South Viet Nam. I am sure they are in need of it!"

"But it is worth millions of francs and you are using it," said Madeleine.

"No, they need it more than I do."

Though the apparatus was quite new, he went on to quieten Riffaud: "I've had it for a long time. And it didn't cost so much."

When we asked for his name, the woman journalist said: "He wants to keep it secret."



AN UNUSUAL SET OF STAMPS

The most experienced philatelists cannot find this set of stamps on the market. It has never been issued in series and sold at any post office; but tens of thousands of people have seen it. In fact, as a contribution to the anti-Viet Nam war action, a Dutch artist has drawn on post cards widely in use in the Netherlands tens of thousands of stamp-size pictures of Vietnamese villages razed by American bombs, US airdropped coffins, the statue of "Liberty or Death" etc., which are vivid denunciation of US atrocities in South Viet Nam.

HELENE, A YOUNG SWISS GIRL

Helene and some of her friends in Geneva run a South Vietnamese book and periodical "agency" in a small house whose cellar serves as an office and a book store. They translate NFL literature into English, French and German and distributed printed copies at "Support Viet Nam" meetings or sell them in the streets. To a reader who wants to have materials on Viet Nam, they translate and type them for a small sum in francs to feed the Viet Nam "funds." Thus, they can send money to Viet Nam and at the same time acquaint Swiss readers with the Vietnamese problem.

Helene works hard in her "agency" late into the night, typing, translating, mimeographying and sending out materials. Sometimes, exhausted she falls asleep at her desk. Her old mother prepares for her some strong coffee and is sorry that her dim sight prevents her from doing anything for Viet Nam. Once Helene asked her, "Will you let me go and fight in Viet Nam, if they want me to?" "Certainly, I will" the old lady replied with a loving look and an affectionate smile.

THE GOLDEN HEART OF A BLIND YOUNG MAN

Nicolai is a strongly-built teenager. If his movements were not so awkward, nobody would think he is blind. He called at the South Viet Nam NFL Representation in Moscow and said: "I've come from Ukraine to see you..." Then he drew from his pocket an envelope, laid it on the table, and went on: "Two years ago, I made up my mind to send all my invalid benefits as a small contribution to the struggle of the South Vietnamese people. Now I have saved 2,000 roubles and ask you to be so kind as to forward them to the Vietnamese youth who are fighting with their elders to drive the American aggressors out of South Viet Nam."

During the interview Nicolai said that it was the first time in his life that he visited Moscow with the only purpose to see the NFL delegation and tell them of his feeling for his Vietnamese friends.

CUBANS' LOVE FOR VIET NAM

Mme Melba Hernandez is nicknamed "Vietnamese comrade" by Cubans. For long, in her capacity as Chairman of the *Viet Nam Solidarity Committee*, she has devoted heart and soul to her lofty task. To the question how strong is her love for Viet Nam, she will reply: "In my childhood, when people asked me about my love for my father and my mother, I said: 'My love for my father is larger than the sky and that for my mother deeper than the sea.' Now I would give the same answer with regard to South Viet Nam."

Carlot Alberto Rodriguez, 16, was struck by an incurable disease. On October 26, 1966, before dying, he told his mother to send to the Vietnamese children all his clothes and belongings. His will read: "I wish all my things to be sent after my death to heroic and glorious Viet Nam for a little Vietnamese hero who will have distinguished himself in learning and combat like Nguyen Van Troi."

BLOOD FOR VIET NAM

One day it was the turn of the Hungarian trafic and frontier policemen to donate blood for Viet Nam. Everybody was eager to fulfil such an internationalist duty. Major Dutka, director of the Budapest police school said, smiling: "I've just given 250 centilitres of blood to the Vietnamese combatants. It's a pity that I just had a motor-bike accident in which I lost much blood, otherwise I would have given more to the South Viet Nam liberation fighters!"

"From my garrison near the Austrian frontier," an old police capitain said, "I, Madachi, 60, heard of a blood donation drive for Viet Nam and asked leave to go to the capital city to do my bit." As people were anxious for his health, the old officer said: "My doctors are also worried about my condition, but I insist on donating some of my blood. If not much, at least a small quantity. When one cannot go to South Viet Nam to fight the Americans, at least one can give some of one's blood to our friends."

The crowd came near into him and shook hands with him to express their appreciation of his fine gesture.

THE MOSAIC WALL

In front of the entrance to an exhibition on Viet Nam in Berlin there was a newly-built mosaic wall on which German artists had outlined a picture depicting the Vietnamese people's struggle against US aggression. The picture was to be completed by visitors who could buy fragments of colourful stones at the show and fit them on the wall into the patterns drawn by the painters. There were people who bought from some dozens to hundreds of these fragments for one mark each; the children of a kindergarten nearby

got up to 440 pieces. The result was that the picture was "finished" by thousands of "artists" friendly to Viet Nam, and the *GDR Committee of Solidarity with Viet Nam* was able to collect by this "initiative" tens of thousands of marks for Viet Nam.

DOING DOUBLE WORK

Mclenon is not only very active in mobilizing Australian youth against the government's sending of troops to Viet Nam. He has been doing double work. He has played the part of the leader of a group of students going about persuading young people to burn draft-cards in the well-known play *With the Earthly Angels* depicting the anti-draft movement now spreading in Australia. In the slums, on the lighted stage, or in the streets of Canberra, he will raise his head and call the Australian youths: "Let the American president fight the war himself," "Burn draft-cards rather than your children," "Return young Aussies to Autralia," "Repatriate young Aussies!"

THE FIRST MESSAGE

December 20, 1961, in a hotel in Stockholm. At that time, little was known about the South Viet Nam NFL. An African friend was in the same lift with

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation carries out a foreign policy of peace and neutrality, which guarantees the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the country and helps safeguard world peace.

To establish diplomatic relations with all countries regardless of their social and political system, on the principles of mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-infringement upon each other's territory; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality, mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence.

To abolish all unequal treaties which the puppet administration has signed with the United States or any other country.

(Political Program of the NFL)

for Viet Nam

Vietnamese delegates to a conference. One of these asked him: "Do you know that to morrow, sorry, today (because it was some minutes past one o'clock in the morning) is the first founding anniversary of the South Viet Nam NFL?"

"Well, what can I do?," the African replied. "I'll be leaving at 5 sharp."

A few hours later, the Vietnamese delegation received an envelope. It was a letter of congratulation from the African friend before his departure, for the NFL. It was perhaps the only message, or rather one of the very few messages received by the FNL for its first anniversary.

CLOCKING IN TWO HOURS AND A HALF BEFORE TIME

YAN XUNG-ER, a female worker at the Y-Min food processing factory in Shanghai has taken the lead in the movement to go to work ahead of time. Instead of relieving her friends at 5 a.m., she arrives at the factory two hours and a half earlier. She thus has set an example to all the female workers who, despite heaps of household chores, come to the factory usually an hour earlier. To the question why she has been doing this, she cheerfully replies: "We must try our best to do our internationalist duty toward the Vietnamese people at present engaged in a tough fight against the US imperialists. What we have been doing is little in comparison with their gallant efforts. We come to the factory ahead of time to produce more. This also is helpful to the Vietnamese."

SIDE BY SIDE WITH VIET NAM

THE movement to enter one's name as volunteer for South Viet Nam is rising in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. For instance, Kim Ho Kol, 60, her son and her daughter have offered their services respectively as cook, gunner and nurse in the Vietnamese armed forces.

"US aggression against Viet Nam," she says, "is also aggression against Korea. To fight the Americans there is to fight them in Korea."

Visiting Korea, from towns to country, from the hilly regions in the North to the populated villages along the seacoast in the South, you can find a great number of families and people who have cast in their lots with Viet Nam.

THE MATCH-BOX

KOMORI FUKU, 30, owns a small confectioner's shop at the town of Meabasi, Japan. To all her customers, she hands a match-box on which is written the slogan: "We protest the aggressive war in Viet Nam" and urges them to oppose that war and support Viet Nam. She does so because pressure of business and her poor health do not allow her to go to meetings or take part in demonstrations in favour of Viet Nam. Many of her patrons receive her match-boxes with this promise: "I'll do everything against that war. Let's try harder together."

WHICH DIRECTION IS VIET NAM?

IN Ulan Bator a TV program was on about the crimes committed by the US in North and South Viet Nam.

Giugodi Rinbo, 14, stood up suddenly and shouted: "I'll ride hero Danda's horse and take leader Chukhebator's sabre and go to Viet Nam to fight the American aggressors there!"

"Which direction is Viet Nam?," his parents asked him.

"North," he answered to the great amusement of his parents who then told him the right direction of Viet Nam.

VICTOR TURNS A TEETOTALLER

VICTOR, a middle-aged worker in a Paris suburb earns hardly enough to support his large family. For some months now, at his midday meals, he has been drinking only water instead of wine. Astonished, some friends of his at first thought he had turned a skinflint. Some time afterwards they came to know that Victor had "vowed" to abstain from drinking and save the money for Viet Nam until victory. As a matter of fact since he has taken the pledge, Victor has been giving regular contributions to the Viet Nam funds.

BUMMI FIGHTS THE YANKEES

BUMMI may be a rag bear, a doll, a terra cotta pig or some toys of 4 or 5-year-old German children. But it must contain a certain sum of money to be sent to Viet Nam. Of course it has a slit for coins. Bummi is well known to children in the German Democratic Republic. Their papers have launched a widespread propaganda campaign for the Bummi movement and been regularly reporting on its results. In order to help Bummi grow quickly and go and fight in Viet Nam, German children cut out one snack a day, a film show a week and one Sunday outing a month and entrust the money to Bummi. They say that they love their little friends in Viet Nam, especially in South Viet Nam who must live and learn, under the constant threat of US bombs and shells. They wish to go to Viet Nam and fight the Yankees there but are too young to bear arms and Viet Nam is too far away. So Bummi goes there on their behalf bringing money, toys, clothes, school things... and their affection for their little friends in Viet Nam.

GIs' stages "without joy" in South Viet Nam

- Why and for whom did the GIs land in South Viet Nam, thousands of miles away from home?
- Why did they have to splash in our swamps?
- Will his wife, his child and his old folks see him again?
- What is he thinking of amidst this litter of scrap iron?

The NFL flag

THIS evening, Mrs Ba went round the village with her tocsin as usual. The sun had set. Mr Ba had finished with hanging oil lamps along the fences and returned, but Nam—her young daughter—was still lying on the bamboo bed in silence. Her long hair was trailing on the floor, but she did not seem to mind it.

Nam was just 16. She was born in December. That year the mother and the baby spent Tet (the Lunar New Year's Day) in bed. Nam dit not yet come of age, but they forced her to put on a uniform and undergo military training. This afternoon, Ve Oanh, head of the "strategic hamlet," ordered women to go and build ramparts around the village. Never had women done such work. So, Nam came out against it. And none of the women here showed up for the job. There was a lot of other nuisances.

Mr Ba lay down on the cot. There was a drizzle outside. Deep silence reigned all over this "strategic hamlet," the sort of silence that was very irritating.

In the uprising the year before, this region was liberated. Mr Ba became master of his land. The orange-trees in his garden which had been withering were growing well. His stock of paddy was so large. The set of landscapes which he bought last Tet and hung on the altar was a real treat for the eyes.

His daughter could go to school and play merrily. What he liked most was the day when he and his wife attended a performance given by Nam and the village's song and dance ensemble at the presentation ceremony of the Front. He could hardly imagine that children of poor farmers like him had the chance of making speeches, singing and dancing before so large a crowd. It was with boundless pride that Mr Ba and his wife looked at Dung accompanying his sister.

Early this year, the enemy set up a garrison in this Giao Meo hamlet and turned it into a "strategic hamlet." They levelled gardens and orchards. The day before, they felled his mango-tree which was beginning to bear fruit. Mrs Ba wept bitterly. Thuong, the district chief, brought in soldiers to collect debts for supervisor Gioi. He calculated everything and charged a tons of paddy to Mr Ba. Mr Ba could not pay this debt even if he sold all his property.

Dung had grown up. Mr Ba and his wife let him join the liberation army. Now they had with them only Nam — their daughter. Nam was still so young. But both puppet and American soldiers and even "pacification" agents came to woo her all day. This annoyed her, and she insisted on being sent to the liberated zone with her brother.

Since the day when the guerillas overran the post at Sen village and shelled Cung cung hat, the garrison in this strategic hamlet was less active at night. But in the day time they still ruled the roost here, and it was quite intolerable.

Nam went to the door and looked round for a while. Then she came in and whispered into Mr Ba's ears:

— "You keep watch, daddy, so that I can put it to dry for a while. Will you help me take it out?"

— "Dry and take out what?"

Nam laughed and told her father in a low voice:

— "The flag of the Front. It may be damp because it has rained today."

— "Yes, yes, dry it over the fireplace or in the wind... Be careful not to smoke it."

Mr Ba rose to his feet while speaking. Putting his half-burnt cigarette on the edge of the couch, he hurried into the next room, opened the trunk and took out a silk flag of the Front. With both hands, he raised it up and looked at it for a long time. This flag meant a lot to him as well as to all the people in this region. As it appeared, the garrison at Giao Meo post had withdrawn and those at Ben Doi, Binh Phu and Ba Pho posts and in Tra On district dug in. Enemy thugs dared not come to plunder and collect taxes. The farmers' children could go to school and had enough to wear and to eat. With the absence of this flag for nearly a year now, his village looked shabby. The faces of Ba Den and diminutive Tam were called to his mind: the cadres who were wholeheartedly devoted to the people had been killed by the enemy.

Suddenly, little Nam snatched the flag from her father's hand and pressed it against her chest.

— "How can we hoist it, daddy?", she said. "If only we had had it a few years ago! They are rising up everywhere to destroy strategic hamlets, whereas we've been sitting tight since our last insurrection."

Mr Ba wanted to let her daughter know that their hamlet would stand up tonight to pull down this hell, but he feared the girl might let it out and spoil the whole scheme. "I'll tell her in due time," he said to himself.

From the other end of the hamlet, voices were heard and torches lit up the road. Mrs Ba and some of her neighbours were returning from a round. As she was coming into the house, her husband asked:

— "Why so late?"

The wife knitted her eye-brows, and in a low, sarcastic voice, replied:

— "We had to do some jobs for the anti-communist cause, in the interest of the strategic hamlet. If we fail to do it just for a day, they will not let us live. They have also asked our hamlet to detach 70 people to help build the defences of Hau Loc hamlet."

— "What shall we do, then?", asked Mr Ba worried. "People have no rice to eat and field work has not been done. How can they go?"

— "Four or five of them, out of fear, have already accepted. How hateful that horrible man with his arrogance?"

Mr Ba crossed his legs and puffed at his cigarette contentedly.

— "Well, well, what did I tell you, eh? We won't go. The bastards seem to be sure of themselves. They'll be sorry for it one of these days."

After bending close to his wife's ear, he whispered:

— "Don't you know anything yet?"

— "Nothing at all," Mrs Ba replied, genuinely surprised.

After waving little Nam out, Ba knowingly winked at his wife and said:

— "You'll keep it to yourself, won't you?"

— "What do you think I am, a child?"

In the same hoarse and low voice, Ba went on:

— "Tonight, our folks here will rise up to level flat this strategic hamlet."

— "Really," Mrs Ba exulted. "How did you come to know it?

— "Our men told me."

The woman pondered for a while and said in an anxious voice:

— "If the devils come back, what are we going to do then?"

Ba grew impatient.

— "You always fear one thing or another. Last time, we didn't succeed because we were of two minds. The fight dragged out until daybreak. This time, all the people in the hamlet want to rise up, and they are ready. We aren't alone. Why be afraid? In some other places, people have risen up successfully five, six or even ten times, and the enemy cannot do anything about it. If we do not end now, we shall be killed before long."

— "All right," said Mrs Ba, assured. "But we must go the whole hog and leave nothing standing, mustn't we?"

Little Nam entered the room to take the flag out. Seeing her mother follow her, she waited for her, at the door.

— "Shun!," she shouted impishly.

The mother was startled, but she tenderly patted her daughter's cheek. "You, little devil!"

She took the flag and gazed at it.

— "You're very careless," she admonished the girl. "They are hardly a few hundred yards away. Don't you know it?"

Little Nam hugged her mother and sneered: "There is a sizeable chicken-heart?"

Mr Ba came in smiling.

"You tell your daughter to behave," his wife said and went to the veranda, put up the hammock and lay down in it.

— "It's already late," she said with a yawn.

Mr Ba took up the lamp and went here and there, putting away his tools. Then he went to his wooden cot near the hammock and lay down. He looked up at the ceiling.

— "What's the time? Why is everything still so quiet?" he asked.

— "Don't you worry. If they have promised to come, they will come."

Mrs Ba spoke softly, lest she might be overheard from afar.

The thickness of the night could be cut with a knife and the regular time-keeping tocsin was heard ever more distinctly.

Mrs Ba found no sleep, thinking all the time of the troubles the local population might face. The stillness was suddenly torn by gunshots and voices. Like in a dream Mr Ba leapt up from the cot and dashed out. Seeing that the people were streaming out into the street, he rushed back into the house, took up his hoe and hammer, and woke little Nam up.

The population divided into groups, surrounded and seized the most vicious bravos. Some of the latter got so scared they whispered like children. Throughout the hamlet one could hear the noises of the hoes, hammers and knives striking at hard objects. Hundreds of people, their shadows flicking in the torch lights, vied with one another in flattening the hell where they had been kept so long.

At day break, the Giao Tho strategic hamlet was razed to the ground. Mr Ba sent little Nam for the flag of the National Front for Liberation and handed it to Uncle Sau, the underground chief.

In a voice frayed by emotion, he said:

— "For nearly a year now, my family has kept this flag in this very strategic hamlet. Nothing could force us to surrender it. Tonight, we succeeded in blotting this hell on earth, and as you are here, I give it back to you."

Uncle Sau held out his hands to take the flag. He looked at Mr Ba solemnly and silently.

The sun was rising slowly. The NFL flag was proudly fluttering on the top of Giao Tho post: The rays of the morning sun were playing on it, making it look even more majestic.

Mrs Ba looked up at the flag, her eyes full of tears.

Mr Ba approached Uncle Sau, and said enthusiastically:

— "We must do something more, we should not to stop here, should we, dear Sau?"

The red-blue gold-starred flag continued to flap in every whift of the morning breeze.

NGUYEN THI LY

A - Letter from Mme **NGUYEN THI DINH**

TO THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Mme NGUYEN THI DINH Deputy CIC of the PLAF

EDITOR'S NOTE. — *Recently, the SVN PLAF's Command has received from Mr Huey Newton, Minister of Defence of the Black Panther Party (USA), a letter informing his intention to send to the NFL and the SVNR PRG an undetermined number of troops assisting the SVN people in the struggle against the US imperialist aggressors.*

Mme Nguyen Thi Dinh, Deputy Commander, has answered to him on behalf of the SVN PLAF Command. Following are large excerpts of her etter:

Dear friends,

WE are deeply moved by your letter informing us that the Black Panther Party is intending to send to the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam an undetermined number of troops, assisting us in our struggle against the US imperialist aggressors.

This news was communicated to all the cadres and fighters of the PLAF in South Viet Nam ; and all of us are delighted to get more comrades-in-arms, so brave as you, on the very soil of the United States.

On behalf of the cadres and fighters of the South Vietnamese PLAF, I would welcome your noble deed and convey to you our sincere thanks for your warm support to our struggle against US aggression for national salvation. We consider it as a great contribution from your side, an important event of the peace and democratic movement in the United States giving us active support, a friendly gesture voicing your determination to fight side-by-side with the South Vietnamese people for the victory of the common cause of revolution.

In the spirit of international solidarity, you have put forward your responsibility towards history, towards the necessity of uniting actions, sharing joys and sorrows, participating in the struggle against US imperialism.

You have highly appreciated the close relation between our both uncompromising struggles against US imperialism, our common enemy. It is well known now, that the US government, the most warlike, not only oppresses and exploits the American people, especially the black and the coloured ones, but also oppresses and exploits various peoples the world over by all means, irrespective of morality and justice. They have the hunger of dollars and profits which they derived by the most barbarous ways, including genocide, as they have acted for years in South Viet Nam.

In the past years, your just struggle in the US have stimulated us to strengthen unity, and rush forward for bigger successes...

Dear friends,

Our struggle yet faces a lot of hardships, but we are determined to overcome all difficulties, unite with all progressive forces, to highten our revolutionary vigilance, to persist in our struggle, resolutely to fight and win. We are sure to win complete victory.

So are our thinkings : At present, the struggles, right in the United States or on the South Viet Nam battlefields, are both making positive contributions for national liberation and safeguarding the world peace. Therefore, your persistent and ever-developing struggle is the most active support to our resistance against US aggression for national salvation.

With the profound gratitude, we take notice of your enthusiastic proposal, when necessary, we shall call for your volunteers to assist us.

We are firmly confident that your just cause will sympathy enjoy warm and strong support of the people at home and abroad, and will win complete victory ; and our ever closer co-ordinated struggle surely stop the bloody hands of the US imperialists and surely contribute to winning independence, freedom, democracy and genuine peace.

Best greetings for "unity, militancy, and victory" from the South Viet Nam people's liberation fighters.

NGUYEN THI DINH
Deputy Commander
of the SVN People's
Liberation Armed Forces.

IN THE "SECOND FRONT"

ALONG with the successful resistance of the people of South Viet Nam, the American movement against US aggression in this country has grown up without interruption.

From a spark — the open letter addressed by sixteen intellectuals to the late President John F. Kennedy, denouncing the US undeclared war in Viet Nam as immoral and illegal — the conflagration has developed into a prairie fire in 1965 when Lyndon B. Johnson sent a massive expeditionary force to South Viet Nam. Since the fall of 1969, it has been sweeping the United States from coast to coast, from the northern industrial to the agricultural south.

It has been mounting as Washington's policy has grown more and more reactionary : prolongation and extension of the war, repression of militant students, and of coloured Americans against racial segregation — all of which has seriously challenged the US traditions of liberty and justice. With the conspicuous absence of democratic freedoms in the United States, the committing of troops to a country thousands of miles away from it to allegedly defend liberty and democracy is but a gross deception. Meanwhile, American reverses on the battlefields have had ever-wider repercussions at home. Opinion polls in Autumn 1969 showed that 55 per cent of middle-class Americans had some connections with servicemen in Viet Nam.

But the most adverse effects felt by every social segment have been those of the war, now expanding to the whole of Indochina, on US economy : regression, inflation, unemployment, rising taxes, soaring cost of living, etc. These very objective factors have brought the war dissent to such pitches as the moratoriums in late 1969, and "uprisings" in May 1970, rallied such new forces as the workers, and pushed up the activities of such strata as women and churchmen.

An anti-war front has in fact taken shape in the United States with, marching in the van, students, young people, intellectuals, writers, artists, religious personalities. It involves consequential figures in business and political circles, even in the army where the ranks of war dissenters keep swelling steadily. It has operated in conjunction with the drive against racial discrimination, that for better living conditions and democracy. It also has followers among US residents abroad, GIs in South Viet Nam and Americans in Saigon, and has been warmly backed by the world peoples whose co-ordinated action has led to the emergence of an international front spearheaded at the waiting, astute and crafty Nixon administration.

Each drive adopts different methods than the preceding one, more consistent with the aspirations and feelings of the American people. Apart from collective actions participated in by tens of thousands of people, students and youths go from house to house explaining their action and militating against the war in Viet Nam and Indochina and for the honour and interest of the United States, for the interest of each American. The anti-war movement now has spread into the streets, deep into each home, into the hearts of the Americans. Now and then, it flares up with the burning or tearing of US flags, display of that of the PRG in marches, the burning of draft-cards, sacking of conscription centres, picket of the Pentagone premises by demonstrators, setting on fire of army dumps, snatching of weapons with which to resist repression by the army and police. That Americans have offered to come and fight at the side of the South Vietnamese patriots is a new and very significant development of the dissent.

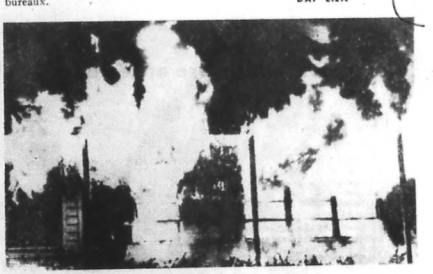
An end to the aggressive war in Viet Nam and Indochina, total and unconditional withdrawal of US troops and war materials from South Viet Nam, and removal of the rotten Thieu-Ky-Khiem administration have been the main objectives of the American anti-war movement as made clear in each drive, in the form and method of struggle by each social section. Those watchwords have often been combined with others for decent incomes for the poor, an end to the predominance over women by men in all spheres, and against racism, repression....

Soundly motivated, the movement has, over the recent past, directed its actions against the US aggressive war in Viet Nam and Indochina, and different policies of the US government, more specifically against draft centres, military bases, detention camps, tribunals, tax-collecting bureaux.

The people of South Viet Nam, who always distinguish between the warlike ruling circles of the United States and her freedom and justice-loving people, greatly rejoice at the momentous growth of the latter's fight against the aggressive war in Viet Nam. They regard it as a valuable support and worthy contribution to their righteous cause. It reinforces the "friendship bridge" between the Vietnamese and American peoples — a relationship described by the *Guardian* as one between "the great front" — the Vietnamese people, and "the second front" — the Americans. It is also an important contribution of the latter to peace and friendship between nations.

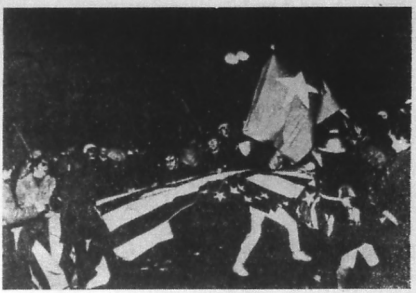
The people of South Viet Nam are confident that if the present rate of progress is kept up the American people's protest against the aggressive war in Viet Nam will make bigger advances, and help speed up the ending of the dirty war in Viet Nam and Indochina, a war that has inflicted so many sufferings on both peoples.

DAI LIEN



Reserve officers' school (Missouri) set on fire by US students.

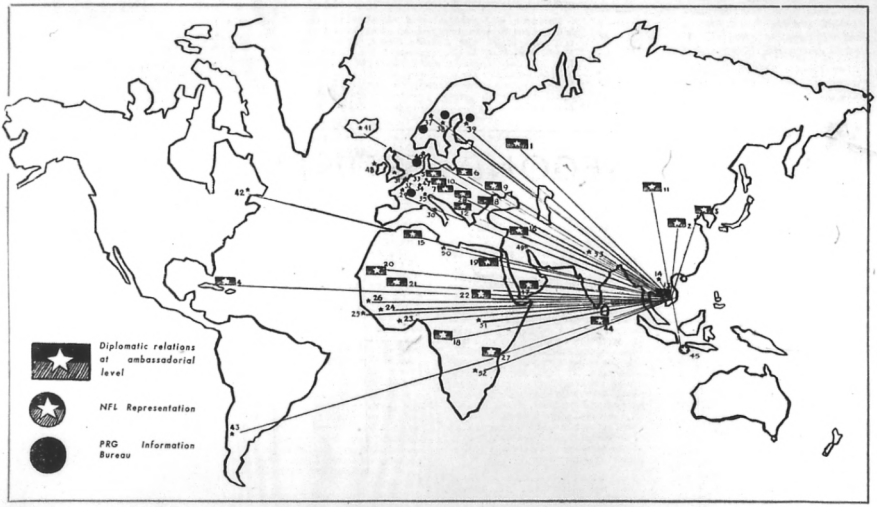
LONG LIVE THE NFL, THE ORGANIZER AND LEADER OF ALL VICTORIES OF THE SVN PEOPLE !



American demonstrators lowering the US flag and hoisting the NFL flag (December 12, 1969).

NFL flags displayed by the English people against US aggression in Viet Nam.

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE NFL AND SVNR PRG



Countries which are entertaining relations with the NFL and the SVNR PRG

1 — USSR
2 — PR of China
3 — PDR of Korea
4 — Cuba
5 — GDR
6 — Poland
7 — Hungary
8 — Bulgaria
9 — Rumania
10 — Czechoslovakia
11 — Mongolia
12 — Albania
13 — Cambodia
14 — Laos
15 — Algeria
16 — Syria
17 — South Yemen
18 — Congo (B)
19 — UAR
20 — Mauritania
21 — Mali
22 — Sudan
23 — Ghana
24 — Guinea
25 — Cape Verde Island
26 — Senegal
27 — Tanzania
28 — Yugoslavia
29 — France
30 — Italy
31 — Great Britain
32 — Belgium
33 — Netherlands
34 — Luxembourg
35 — Switzerland
36 — Austria
37 — Sweden
38 — Norway
39 — Filand
40 — Denmark
41 — Iceland
42 — Canada
43 — Chile
44 — Ceylon
45 — Indonesia
46 — Cyprus
47 — West Germany
48 — Ireland
49 — Irak
50 — Libya
51 — Zambia
52 — Uganda
53 — India